

# THE DUBLIN REVIEW

57th YEAR.—No. 227.

1893.

VOL. 113.

## OCTOBER

	PAGE
I. THE PROPAGATION OF ISLAM . . . . .	Professor de Harlez . 741
II. ROME'S TRIBUTE TO ANGLICAN ORDERS . . . . .	Rev. J. D. Breen, O.S.B. 766
III. TEMPERANCE AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION . . . . .	Rev. J. Halpin . . . 801
IV. FATHER OHRWALDER'S CAPTIVITY . . . . .	Miss E. M. Clerke . . 815
V. BISHOP LIGHTFOOT AND THE EARLY ROMAN SEE	Rev. Dom Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., M.A. 836
VI. THE HON. CHARLES LANGDALE . . . . .	Rev. W. Amherst, S.J. . 858
VII. THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS AT JERUSALEM .	The Lady Herbert . . 874
VIII. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN ENGLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES	Rev. F. A. Gasquet, O.S.B. . . . . 886

SCIENCE NOTES.

NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.

REVIEWS IN BRIEF.

NOTES ON FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

BOOK NOTICES.

LONDON: BURNS & OATES, LIMITED. J. DONOVAN, 19 HENRIETTA STREET, W.C.

DUBLIN: M. H. GILL & SON.

NEW YORK, CINCINNATI, AND CHICAGO: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

[No. 8.—NEW SERIES.]

21s. per annum if prepaid.

Single Copy, 6s.

# MESSRS. MACMILLAN & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

## WILLIAM GEORGE WARD and the CATHOLIC REVIVAL.

By WILFRED WARD. 8vo, 14s.

*TIMES*.—"Mr. Wilfrid Ward's book is as rich as its predecessor in pointed anecdote and 'mots.' The biographer is to be congratulated upon the conclusion of a work at once so informing in topics of theological and philosophical controversy, and so copiously illustrative of the life and character of his remarkable parent."

*SPECTATOR*.—"One of the most effective pieces of pictorial biography and exposition of a great movement which it has ever fallen to the lot of the present writer to read."

*GLASGOW HERALD*.—"A book which is at once solid and interesting. . . . The reader will not be able to feel anything but deep interest in the masterly description of the great Catholic Renaissance, and in the quiet but powerful advocacy of Roman Catholic ideals, which make this book one of permanent value for the student of European life and thought of this century."

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

## WILLIAM GEORGE WARD and the OXFORD MOVEMENT. With a

Portrait. New Edition. With Additions. 8vo, 14s.

NEW BOOK BY MR. F. W. H. MYERS.

## SCIENCE AND A FUTURE LIFE; and other Essays. By F. W.

H. MYERS, M.A. Globe 8vo, 5s.

## NATURAL SELECTION AND SPIRITUAL FREEDOM. By

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY, Author of "Habit and Intelligence," and "The Scientific Basis of Faith." Globe 8vo, 5s.

## THE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited by W.

ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A., LL.D. In 9 vols., 8vo, 10s. 6d. each Vol. IX.—Containing Pericles, Poems, Sonnets, &c.

*TIMES*.—"No more competent editor could be found than Mr. Aldis Wright, and there is no edition of Shakespeare in which his ripe scholarship could be more profitably exercised." [text.]

*ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS*.—"An absolute necessity to every earnest student of Shakespeare's

*DAILY CHRONICLE*.—"Were it for nothing else than its wonderful display of what has been done by successive workers since the appearance of Rowe's edition in 1709, this version of Shakespeare by the Cambridge Editor would be a unique and valuable possession."

*SPEAKER*.—"An admirable student's book, containing all that is necessary to the intelligent understanding of the text of the poet."

*PALL MALL GAZETTE*.—"The best edition of Shakespeare in existence."

ABRIDGED FROM PROFESSOR BALDWIN'S "HANDBOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY."

## ELEMENTS OF PSYCHOLOGY. By JAMES MARK BALDWIN, Professor Elect in Princeton College, Professor in the University of Toronto, Author of "Handbook of Psychology." Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

MACMILLAN & CO., LONDON.

---

## NEW BOOK BY CARDINAL NEWMAN.

Oblong crown 8vo, price 5s. net.

## MEDITATIONS AND DEVOTIONS Of the late CARDINAL NEWMAN.

Part I. Meditations for the Month of May. Novena of St. Philip.

Part II. The Stations of the Cross. Meditations and Intercessions for Good Friday.  
Litanies, &c.

Part III. Meditations on Christian Doctrine. Conclusion.

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

---

Now Ready, Demy 8vo, half bound in Leather, price 10s. 6d., with Portraits and Illustrations.

## MR. SERJEANT BELLASIS (1800-1873).

BY EDWARD BELLASIS.

---

LONDON: BURNS & OATES, LTD., 28 Orchard Street, W., and 63 Paternoster Row, E.C.

## SAINT AMBROSE'S HOUSE.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER, assisted by a Council of Distinguished General Officers, and other gentlemen of position and experience, has inaugurated a Scheme for Catholic young men preparing for the Army, the Navy, the Indian Civil Service, combining the best methods of study and the religious facilities and safeguards needed by such youths.

His Grace has secured this building, opening into ample grounds of St. Charles's College, providing cricket and football field, tennis, &c., for both residents and non-residents.

The Oblates of St. Charles have undertaken the administration of the House, and the personal care of the students.

### Governors and Committee of Management.

His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

General Sir ARTHUR HERBERT, K.C.B., late Quarter-Master-General to the Forces.

Lieut.-General Sir EVELYN WOOD, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., V.C., &c. &c., Commanding Troops, Aldershot.

Major-General LORD RALPH DRURY KERR, C.B., Commanding Troops, Curragh Camp.

Major-General Sir WILLIAM F. BUTLER, K.C.B., A.D.C.

Rear-Admiral LORD WALTER TALBOT KERR.

The EARL OF DENBIGH, late Captain Royal Artillery.

Colonel VAUGHAN, Commanding the Royal Monmouthshire Engineer Militia.

Major LORD EDMUND B. TALBOT, 11th Hussars.

MESSRS. WOLFFRAM and NEEDHAM, of the Manor House, Lee, and 174 Buckingham Palace-road, with their own tutorial staff, conduct the classes, and have the full disciplinary control of the studies.

Their successes have steadily increased in number and proportion.

### SANDHURST AND WOOLWICH.

Four Hundred and Forty-one Pupils have entered the Army from this Establishment viâ Sandhurst and Woolwich.

One Hundred and Sixty-one Pupils have entered the Army viâ the Militia.

In addition to the above, Four Hundred and Twenty-one Pupils have passed the Army Preliminary Examination.

TOTAL SUCCESSES up to date, One Thousand One Hundred and Ninety-three.

For terms, prospectus, &c., apply to

VERY REV. R. BUTLER, D.D.,

St. Ambrose's House, St. Charles' Square,  
North Kensington.

# DR. J. COLLIS BROWNE'S CHLORODYNE

ONLY GENUINE.



ORIGINAL AND

**C**OUGHES,  
**C**COLDs,  
**A**STHMA,  
**B**RONCHITIS.

**D**R. J. COLLIS BROWNE'S CHLORODYNE.—Dr. J. COLLIS BROWNE (late Army Medical Staff) DISCOVERED A REMEDY to denote which he coined the word CHLORODYNE. Dr. Browne is the SOLE INVENTOR, and, as the composition of Chlorodyne cannot possibly be discovered by Analysis (organic substances defying elimination), and since the formula has never been published, it is evident that any statement to the effect that a compound is identical with Dr. Browne's Chlorodyne must be false.

This Caution is necessary, as many persons deceive purchasers by false representations.

**D**R. J. COLLIS BROWNE'S CHLORODYNE.—Vice Chancellor Sir W. PAGE WOOD stated publicly in Court that Dr. J. COLLIS BROWNE was UNDOUBTEDLY the INVENTOR OF CHLORODYNE, that the whole story of the defendant Freeman was deliberately untrue, and he regretted to say it had been sworn to.—*See The Times*, July 13th, 1864.

**D**IARRHŒA, DYSENTERY, GENERAL BOARD OF HEALTH, London, REPORT that it ACTS as a CHARM, one dose generally sufficient. Dr. GIBBON, Army Medical Staff, Calcutta, states: "2 DOSES COMPLETELY CURED ME OF DIARRHŒA." From SYMES & Co., Pharmaceutical Chemists, Simla. Jan. 5, 1880. To J. T. DAVENPORT, London.

DEAR SIR,—We congratulate you upon the widespread reputation this justly-esteemed medicine has earned for itself all over the East. As a remedy of general utility, we much question whether a better is imported, and we shall be glad to hear of its finding a place in every Anglo-Indian home. The other brands, we are happy to say, are now relegated to the native bazaars, and, judging from their sale, we fancy their sojourn there will be but evanescent. We could multiply instances *ad infinitum* of the extraordinary efficacy of DR. COLLIS BROWNE'S CHLORODYNE in Diarrhœa and Dysentery, Spasms, Cramps, Neuralgia, the Vomiting of Pregnancy, and as a general sedative, that have occurred under our personal observation during many years. In Choleraic Diarrhœa, and even in the more terrible forms of Cholera itself, we have witnessed its surprisingly controlling power.

IS  
THE GREAT  
SPECIFIC  
FOR  
CHOLERA.

We have never used any other of this medicine than Collis Browne from a firm conviction that it is decidedly the best, and also from a sense of duty we owe to the profession and to the public, as we are of opinion that the substitution of any other than Collis Browne's is a deliberate breach of faith on the part of the chemist to prescribe and patient alike.—We are, Sir, faithfully yours, SYMES & CO., Members of the Pharm. Society of Great Britain, 1, Excefficiency the Viceroy's Chemists.

**D**R. J. COLLIS BROWNE'S CHLORODYNE is the TRUE PALLIATIVE in

NEURALGIA, GOUT, CANCER, TOOTHACHE, RHEUMATISM.

**D**R. J. COLLIS BROWNE'S CHLORODYNE is a liquid medicine which assuages PAIN EVERY KIND, affords a calm, refreshing sleep WITHOUT HEADACHE, and INVIGORATES the nervous system when exhausted.

**D**R. J. COLLIS BROWNE'S CHLORODYNE rapidly cuts short all attacks of

EPILEPSY, SPASMS, COLIC, PALPITATION, HYSTERIA.

**I**MPORTANT CAUTION.—THE IMMENSE SALE of this REMEDY has given rise to many UNSCRUPULOUS IMITATIONS. Be careful to observe Trade Mark. Of all Chemists 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., and 4s. 6d.

SOLE MANUFACTURER, J.T. DAVENPORT, 33, Great Russell St., W.

## THE PEOPLE'S MANUALS,

BY THE

### ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

ONE PENNY EACH.

A Most Profitable Way of Hearing Mass.

Who is St. Joseph?

Gospel according to St. Matthew.

The Sanctification of Lent.

On Spiritual Reading.

Children of Mary's Manual.

The Scapular of Mount Carmel.

The Loss of Our Children.

The Shrines of Palestine.

Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.

TWOPENCE EACH.

Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

Love and Passion of Jesus Christ.

Peter-tide, or St. Peter's Month.

Catholic Politics.

Veneration of Sacred Relics.

Love and Service of Christ in His Poor (cloth).

Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (cloth).

To be had from Booksellers, or from the BISHOP'S SECRETARY, Bishop's House, Salford.

# THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

---

With the 110th Volume began a NEW SERIES of "the historic" DUBLIN REVIEW, improved in type and general appearance.

Its past volumes contain the fullest record and appreciation that exists of Catholic publications, and of English literature during more than half a century.

The DUBLIN REVIEW deals not only with the serious problems which underlie modern society and with the religious movements of the day, but with a great variety of topics, historical, antiquarian, and modern, which are of interest to Catholics.

It employs men of science to furnish Quarterly Notices of the most interesting scientific discoveries; it keeps a careful record of the explorations of travellers; calls attention to a selected number of current works of fiction; notices the principal German, French, and Italian periodicals, and gives copious reviews of books, Catholic and miscellaneous.

New Subscribers are earnestly requested to send in their orders without delay, so as to secure this first number of the New Series before the edition is exhausted.

---

Publishers:

MESSRS. BURNS AND OATES, LTD., ORCHARD STREET, LONDON.

JAMES DONOVAN, 19 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

M. H. GILL AND SON, DUBLIN.

NEW YORK, CINCINNATI, AND CHICAGO: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

---

All Advertisements to be sent not later than the 20th of the Month prior to issue to JAMES DONOVAN, as above.

*Annual Subscription, payable in advance, 21s. Single Number, 6s.*



# SALT REGAL.

“Has attained a high reputation.”—*The Analyst*.

“Salt Regal is a most valuable remedy for dyspeptic symptoms, and one which we commend to sufferers from indigestion generally. The Ozone which it contains gives tone to a debilitated constitution.”—*Public Opinion*.

## SALT REGAL

Prevents and Relieves DIPHTHERIA, CHOLERA, INDIGESTION, FLATULENCE, HEADACHE, and all other Stomach Irregularities. PURIFIES the BODY, imparting NEW LIFE and VIGOUR.

## SALT REGAL

Possesses marvellous RECUPERATIVE Properties, is invaluable in RELIEVING and STIMULATING the overworked brain, and RESUSCITATING EXHAUSTED VITALITY.

## SALT REGAL

BRIGHTENS and CLEARS the COMPLEXION, corrects all ERRORS OF DIET, Eating or Drinking, is a most pleasant Effervescent Morning Drink, STIMULATING the APPETITE, giving TONE to the Entire System, and is highly recommended by the Medical Profession.

1/6 & 2/9 of all Chemists: or by Post from the  
MANAGER, Salt Regal Works, LIVERPOOL.

# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.—THE PROPAGATION OF ISLAM . . . . .	741
<p>The Arena—A defender of Islam—Coercion methods of Mohammed—The spread of Mohammedanism by the sword—Testimony of M. Dozy—Insincerity of its proselytes—Syria and Egypt—Persia—Contempt for the Christian—In Spain—In India—In China—The Turks of the West—In Oceania—In Africa—In Madagascar—The simplicity of Mohammedan Creed—Its appeal to the Passions—The causes of Progress.</p>	
II.—ROME'S TRIBUTE TO ANGLICAN ORDERS. . . . .	766
<p>Work of Mr. Montagu Butler—Its confusion of facts—What Rome's tribute to Anglican Orders really was—The action of Queen Mary—The non-recognition of Ordinations according to the Ordinal of Edward VI.—The fourfold status of the Clergy—Action of Pole—Treatment of Edwardian Bishops—Decision of the Holy See in the cases of Dr. Gordon and Dr. Ives—What Rome's Tribute to Anglican Orders was <i>not</i>—The action of the Council of Trent—The asserted summoning of Anglican Bishops <i>as such</i> to the Council—The speech of Bishop O'Harte—The alleged acquiescence of the Popes—The alleged offer to sanction the Book of Common Prayer—The alleged offer of a Hat</p>	

to Laud—the number of recusants—Anglican witnesses  
—The hypothesis of admission and its consequences.

### III.—TEMPERANCE AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION . . . . . 801

The relation of temperance to the social problem—The work of Leo XIII.—Statistics of Drink—Taxation—Grotesque legislation—Thrift and savings-banks—Drink and Poverty—Examples.

### IV.—FATHER OHRWALDER'S CAPTIVITY . . . . . 814

The Missions of the Soudan—Delan—Arrival of Fr. Ohrwalder—incursion of the Baggaras—The Mahdi—His army—The missionaries brought before the Mahdi—Respite from execution—Famine and fever—Fall of El Obeid—Massacre of the army of Hicks Pasha—Message from Gordon—Straits of the missionaries—March to Rahad—Disputations with the Mahdi—March to Omdurman—Account of Gordon at Khartoum—The fall of Khartoum—Death of the Mahdi—Escape of Fr. Bonomi—Operations of Abdullah—Depopulation of towns—Vicissitudes of the missionaries—Expedients to earn a livelihood—Death of a Sister—The escape—Arrival at Murat—Cairo.

### V.—BISHOP LIGHTFOOT AND THE EARLY ROMAN SEE . . . . . 836

Bishop Lightfoot's admissions and corrections—St. Peter's bishopric in Rome—The distinction between Apostles and Bishops—St. Peter's sojourn at Rome—His St. Paul's advent—His missionary life—Judgment of Dr. Lepsius—Bishop Lightfoot's third position—The Bishop of Rome and the Church of Rome—Cardinal Newman on the development of Episcopal power—Bishop Lightfoot's conclusions—His conception of the

position of the Roman Church in the second century—  
His interpretation of St. Ignatius—Its doubtfulness—  
The civil Primacy as a cause of Rome's supremacy in  
Christendom—Its improbable and unhistorical charac-  
ter—The Catholic explanation of the Primacy.

VI.—THE HON. CHARLES LANGDALE . . . . . 858

Origin of the Poor School Committee—The dissolution of  
the Institute—Attacks by the *Tablet*—Negotiations  
with the Government—The "Management Clause"  
—Success of the negotiations—Relations with Car-  
dinal Wiseman—Forming of Training Colleges—The  
"Diplomatic Relations Act"—Letter on affairs in  
Ireland.

VII.—THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS AT JERUSALEM . . . . . 874

Jerusalem, the cradle of Christianity—Objects of the  
Congress—Christian bodies in the East, their departure  
and the reunion to the Catholic Church—Overtures  
from the East—The Outlook—Protestantism in Egypt,  
Palestine and Syria—Obstacles to reunion—Action  
of the Popes in preserving the Eastern rites—The  
political difficulty—Tendencies towards reunion.

VIII.—RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN ENGLAND DURING THE  
FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES . . . . . 886

The new form of the demand for historical knowledge—  
The duty of the Church in religious instruction—Pro-  
testant tradition as to the pre-Reformation Church—  
Mr. Lilly in the DUBLIN REVIEW—Constitutions of  
English Bishops providing for parochial instruction—  
Manuals—Visitation records—Treatises—The unpopu-  
larity of the Reformation movement—Sermons in the

later Middle Ages—The Friars—Treatises on preaching  
 —Friar Waleys—John Mick—John Bromyard—Alan  
 Lynn—Nicholas Gorham—Indexing—Catalogues of  
 Monastic libraries—Richard FitzRalph—St. Paul's  
 Cross—Conclusions.

SCIENCE NOTICES . . . . .	915
NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION . . . . .	923
NOTES ON FOREIGN PERIODICALS . . . . .	933
BOOK NOTICES . . . . .	940
REVIEWS IN BRIEF . . . . .	985

THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

---

OCTOBER 1893.

---

ART. I.—THE PROPAGATION OF ISLAM.

AMERICA possesses a review, enjoying a pretty good circulation at the present day, which has taken for its title *The Arena*, and which entirely justifies its name; for it offers an open field upon which all who wish to make a violent attack, not only upon Catholicity, but even upon the very principles of Christianity, may disport themselves. Last year it tried to prove, after its own particular manner, that Christianity was but a kind of resuscitated Buddhism, and that even Christ Himself was but a true disciple of Buddha. To-day it is to the champions of Mohammedanism that it opens its pages. For we meet therein a certain Ibn-Ishak, a zealous follower of the prophet of Mecca, who makes a most violent attack upon the Christian religion, and who proclaims the universal triumph of the law of the Koran.

He relies chiefly upon the thesis that the religion of Christ *is powerless to make any converts among the Mussulmans*, while Islam can boast of numerous conquests in all directions, and above all among the Buddhists and English in India. According to his statement, Islam at the present time numbers 320 million souls, and before long the whole of Central Africa must be added to the Empire of Allah, for the peoples are beginning to recognise Mohammed as the only prophet.

This champion of Mohammed, however, will not acknowledge that its propagators have made use of violence, nor even

that they have brought any pressure to bear upon their various converts before achieving these great conquests; and, according to him, the proof of this lies in the fact that at the time of the siege of Jerusalem the Caliph Omar spared the life of the Christians and did not put the inhabitants to the sword.

It would be useless to discuss at length such assertions, the falsity of which cannot but be apparent to any one possessing any notion whatsoever of the history and the religion of Mohammed. At the same time it may be of some little use to recall a few principal facts which it would be well for us to have in mind, so as to be able to refute theories of this description.

And, in the first place, let us put before our eyes the means by which Mohammed, owing to the mutual hatreds and jealousies of the people of Medina, was enabled to create for himself a party, ready for action, and how he commenced this series of *conversions* which led his faithful followers even to the heart of France.

I will borrow these facts from various historians whom it would be impossible to suspect of any partiality—from Dozy, Muir, Haines, Stobart, Gobineau, &c. No sooner did the *Envoy of God* feel himself established in his new country than he gave orders to the emigrants from Mecca to attack the caravans of their compatriots. Robbery and bloodshed were the consequences, and it was made known by revelation that a holy war was obligatory, and that heaven would be the reward of those who fell in the combat.

Little by little a campaign began in real earnest, a campaign of pillage and plunder. In 623 a large caravan, laden with merchandise of great value, was returning from Syria. Hearing that Mohammed was meditating an attack upon this precious convoy, Abu Sofyan, who was in charge, called to his aid troops from Mecca to protect it. But Mohammed allowed those auxiliaries no time to reach the caravan, but placing himself in ambush and taking advantage of the position of the ground and the weather, he defeated the troops from Mecca, and seized upon the rich booty which they were destined to defend.

The conqueror then gave himself up to the luxury of vengeance; he caused a woman, who had composed some satirical verses upon him, to be put to death, and he punished,

in the same manner, an old man who had jested about the Mussulman religion. Some Jews who inhabited a suburb of Medina had, by some means, drawn down his anger upon them. The prophet laid siege to their quarter, took possession of it, and would have put all the inhabitants to the sword. Happily for them, however, they could claim friendship with some of the soldiers of Mohammed, and these, with great difficulty, obtained from their chief permission to spare the lives of the Jews, but all their goods were confiscated, and they themselves exiled to the frontiers of Syria.

The battle of Bedr, of which we have recalled the principal incidents, and the treatment of the Jews of Medina, show the methods of action of Islam, which it continued to follow all through Asia, Africa and Europe, and the means it relied on for success—viz., cupidity excited by the inducement to plunder unbelievers, and the promise of a paradise of sensual delights for those who fell upon the field of combat.

From that time forward Mohammed became a mere conqueror, enriching his own people with the spoils of the vanquished, a prophet armed with the sword—spreading his religion at the cost of men's lives, and distributing their possessions among his faithful followers.

We do not mean to assert that he made no converts by conviction; that would be to deny evidence. There undoubtedly were some who were converted in this manner, particularly among the first of those who shared his misfortunes in the earlier days of his career, and above all the Arabs who became his most faithful adherents. But it must be confessed that conversions brought about by means of bloody and cruel battles—with the prospects of sharing in unlimited plunder, with the fate of a miserable slavery, if not of a cruel death, on the one hand, and favours, honours and enjoyment without end on the other—cannot possibly be attributed to conviction or persuasion, nor can they win honour for a religion propagated by such means.

It cannot be denied, indeed, that, from the first victory of Islam, it was only by a continual series of triumphant wars that the religion of Mohammed succeeded in spreading itself throughout Arabia, as well as outside the country of the prophet.

Mohammed conceived quite a new style of mission. An army of savage warriors went about announcing to kings and peoples the command to embrace the new religion at the peril of beholding their country invaded by bands of daring plunderers, whose warlike ardour and religious fanaticism rendered them almost invincible. What might not be dreaded from these courageous fanatics, to whom happiness both in this life and in the next had been assured, according as they survived or succumbed in the combat? The real sentiments of these first followers of the Nabi may very easily be discerned when, shortly after the battle of Bedr, the latter was compelled to turn them against the people of Mecca, who came upon them three thousand strong, to avenge the defeat they had sustained near Bedr. But one thousand men could be got to follow the prophet out of Medina, and of these thousand faithful ones, three hundred abandoned him at the moment of the battle. The defeat of this small band, however, was due, no doubt, to the greed for plunder which caused them to forget the commands of the prophet, and to throw themselves upon the baggage of the enemy instead of taking care to defend their flank from a side attack.

This was a great blow to the power of the prophet; but he recovered himself shortly afterwards, at the time when a terrific storm, frequent enough at Medina, but quite unknown at Mecca, decided the besiegers of the former city to raise the siege. After this Mohammed's anger fell upon a tribe of Jews who had shown themselves hostile to him. He caused all the men, to the number of eight hundred, to be beheaded, and the women and children he sold to the Bedouins in exchange for arms and horses; as for their goods, they were all divided among the soldiers of the prophet, whose enthusiasm knew no bounds. On this point the learned Arabic scholar, M. Dozy, very truly says, after narrating the occurrence :

The influence of Mohammed and the fear which he inspired continued to grow more and more. Many of the neighbouring tribes submitted to him, more because of their fear of him, or of the love of plunder, than from conviction. The same may be said of the other peoples of Arabia, whose submission caused the dominion of the Nabi to equal the Empire of Byzantium. Thus, when Mohammed set out upon his first pilgrimage to Mecca, which his position made necessary,

and when he called upon all these "converted" tribes to take part in this great act of religion, the greater number of them showed themselves very reluctant, and excused themselves under various pretexts. The truth of the matter was that in this long journey there was nothing to be met with but the risk of danger, and no material benefits to be gained. These two great agents in the propagation of Mohammedanism, the fear of the sword and the inducement of gain, were then turned against the prophet. The zeal of his followers had, in most cases, disappeared.

So far the wars of Mohammed had been but acts of vengeance; in 627 he compelled the tribe of Juma to embrace the religion of Islam, and by his threats he caused them to persevere in it. This was the first of his conversions by the sword, which propagated Mohammedanism over Syria, and as far as the Pyrenees and the Himalayas.

We will not follow the prophet in his triumphal career; the acts by which his conquests are distinguished are too sufficiently well known to need repetition. We will simply, in a few words, recall the means which were employed to bring the inhabitants of those provinces, which had been reduced to submission by force of arms, to a belief in the new religion.

Mohammed declared his intentions from the year 631. In the ninth *sura* of the Koran, he declared that the unbelievers had still four months allowed to them in which to become converted; after which space of time the prophet would have no respect for those who still remained obstinately in their wickedness. "Destroy these idolaters wherever they may be found," so said the heavenly voice unto him; "make use of all the various artifices of war to subdue them. But should they repent, accept the faith and pay tribute, receive them with mercy, and permit them to return in peace to their homes." In another place it says: "When you shall meet with infidels, destroy them until you shall have made a great carnage."

In like manner the old historian, Wakidi, describes the Mohammedan conquest in the following words: "With the well-known cry of '*Ya Mansar Amit*'—'strike, oh conquerors'—on their lips, they fell upon all those who opposed themselves to their dominion, and those whom they did not destroy they led into captivity. They burnt villages, fields ready for the harvest, palm woods, leaving behind them, wherever they passed, a whirlwind of flames and smoke." Al

Kindi gives Mohammed the credit of being the only founder of a religion who neither invoked prophecies nor offered the testimony of miracles as proof of his divine mission, but who proclaimed to all the nations of the globe that whosoever refused to receive him as a prophet sent from God, should be put to death and stripped of all his possessions, after having seen his wife and children led away into captivity.\* And are not these words, spoken by Omar in presence of the corpse of Mohammed, full of meaning: "The prophet did not die before having exterminated all hypocrites and all unbelievers?"

For the rest there is no better proof of the want of sincerity in the conversions to Islam than the indisputable fact of the falling away of the Bedouin tribes after the death of the formidable enthusiast. In fact, nearly all of them immediately abandoned the Mussulman religion, and were only recalled to it later on, and then only little by little, as Al Kindi says, through fear, through pressing entreaties, and by the promise of sensual pleasures and of riches to be gained during this life, while awaiting the enjoyment of supreme happiness, and of the delights which those who were faithful were to possess in the next world.†

But it was the first of these motives above all which caused them to return to the fold of the shepherd armed with a sword. For Abu-Bekr, the successor of Mohammed, gave his commands to his soldiers in these words: "Exterminate the apostates without pity, by fire and by sword." Thus it was that ten thousand followers of the "false prophet" Mosailama were massacred to a man. In such manner did the eloquence of the sword do its work; and shortly afterwards Abu-Bekr was able to let loose his hordes upon the Roman Empire and upon Persia, without allowing to the conquered, who were made to follow them in these expeditions, time to realise their position, causing them to become attached to the religion of Islam by the glory of war and the inducement of a share in the plunder. What these conversions were worth, a scene described to us by El Tabari will teach us unmistakeably.

---

\* Al Kindi, translated by Muir, pp. 35 and 100.

† *Ibid.*, p. 63.

After having gained his victory over the Persians, Abu-Bekr was desirous of presenting the plunder to those who were able to recite from memory the longest passages of the Koran. He caused the best and bravest of his soldiers to be brought before him, and questioned them as to what they knew of the subject. Amr ibn Madi made answer thus: "Nothing whatever; I became a follower of Islam in Yemen, and I have never since had time to occupy myself with the Koran." The one who was examined after him could only recite the following words: "*In the name of the God of mercy.*" In the eighth century the Arabs of Africa were not even aware that Mohammed had forbidden the use of wine.

Yezid, the successor of Moâwiah, was looked upon by the people of Medina as a pagan, and it was this opinion which caused a revolution leading to the pillage of the city and a massacre of its inhabitants, in which even the women and children were not spared. The cavalry of Yezid did not scruple to convert the great mosque into stables, and fastened their horses between the pulpit and the tombs of the prophets.

The same soldiers afterwards fell upon Mecca, and made no scruple to cast their missiles and fire against the Kaaba itself, which soon fell into ruins under their attack, and with it the "Sacred Stone."

Thus it was that the disciples of Mohammed acted up to the religion which they professed by word of mouth.

Again, the Caliph Walid II. amused himself by using the Koran as a target for his arrows, and caused his concubines to preside at the public prayers.

It is well known in what manner the religious transformation was brought about in Syria and in Egypt. The great number of sects had already considerably weakened the faith and paved the way for all kinds of apostasies. Many of the conquered population embraced Islam from the beginning, being impelled thereto by the great fear with which their fierce and terrible conquerors inspired them. Many Christians, however, still remained, and even the Caliphs themselves looked favourably upon their existence, for a very simple and natural reason. For the Mussulman law imposed upon all non-Mohammedans the duty of paying a certain sum as poll-tax, which went to enriching the treasure of their new masters. Thus too many

“ conversions ” meant so much revenue lost to the Caliph and his lieutenants. But the same motive caused a great number of Christians to ostensibly embrace the religion of their rulers, that by so doing they might escape a tax which ruined them and swallowed up all the fruit of their labours.

During the reign of Omar II., who was a thoroughly religious man, the changes of religion in Egypt became so very numerous that the officers of the Caliph thought it their duty to represent to him the danger which threatened the royal treasury if this state of things should continue. But Omar gave no heed to their warnings.

In Persia the number of Christians was but small; the followers of Zoroaster, on the other hand, were too weak in their faith to be able to keep to the ancient belief in the national prophet. During the reign of the same Caliph, the Governor of Khorassan addressed to him letters of complaint, in which he said that the Persians of his province became converted simply to escape paying the heavy tribute imposed upon them, and would not even be circumcised. “ God,” answered the Caliph, “ sent Mohammed to teach the faith to men, not to circumcise them.” They also pointed out to him that many of these conversions were but make-believe. But he would take no notice of this want of sincerity. Like a wise man, he foresaw that, even were these new converts of doubtful faith, their children, or at the least their children’s children, would, in the end, become good and sincere Mussulmans. And this was what really came to pass.

But the wish to escape paying the tax was not the only reason which caused the people of Syria, Persia, or Africa to become apostates from the Christian faith, or from their national beliefs, in the case of barbarous nations. Another and no less powerful motive was the humiliating treatment which the Christians received from the hands of their new masters, both in public and private life. Deprived of all public rights, compelled to wear a costume which would distinguish them from the Mussulmans, they were continually exposed to the most cruel indignities from the latter, and were held in the greatest contempt by them.

In the eyes of their conquerors, says Dozy, they were an impure and immoral race, who merited only disgust. The

Mussulman who found it necessary to speak to a Christian which he avoided if possible, stood at a distance from him, for fear of defiling himself by touching the garment of an infidel. The Christian was obliged to remain standing before him. Besides which there were numbers of legal ordinances of the most humiliating character proving the inferiority of these conquered races. One can easily judge, from the state of things in existence even to-day, to what vexations Christians must have been subjected by the Mohammedan soldiers and judges, and even by private persons. Many of them were unable to bear them patiently to the end, and endeavoured to escape from them by embracing the Mussulman religion, by which act they raised themselves in the eyes of these scorers of Christianity. We cannot pretend, however, that all the conversions to Mohammedanism were acts of hypocrisy without exception. The ignorance of the Christians in the East was very great at this time, and made them easy dupes. Separated for the most part from the centre of Christianity, given up to the many fantastic opinions which their theologians had dreamed and sustained, their minds were open to receive any novelty.

The countries which had listened to the voice of Manes, of Priscillus, or which had been traversed by the Iconoclasts, profaning and devastating the sacred temples, were well prepared to accept the teachings of another prophet of the same class, were he even Mohammed himself. Added to which, Islam presented itself to the imagination of the Orientals with all the prestige of success, of a success without precedent, and which was cited by its warriors as proof of their divine mission. These vulgar minds could not but be impressed by the spectacle of these unheard-of victories, and easily believed that God was with them. Was not Mohammed the Paraclete promised by God; and his religion, borrowed for the most part from the Christian religion, but a continuation of the same?

In Persia the transformation was still more easily effected. The conquests of the Greeks had caused an interruption in the religious traditions of the country. The Parthians had resuscitated them but very imperfectly, the religion of Zoroaster was forgotten, and the Persians professed no other religion as their own. True it is that the Sassanids were anxious to again

revive the religion of the Avesta. But this had never been really received in Persia proper. The Sassanids had imposed it upon their subjects, but their tyrannical conduct went no little way in rendering it odious in the eyes of the people, and the Persians possessed no solid tie which could bind them to the worship of Sapor and Chosroës. They exchanged their prophet, and found again in Islam a great number of their Zoroastrian beliefs.

It is a remarkable fact that the Persians, a religious people above everything, became the most ardent and most intelligent disciples of Mohammed, and gave to Islam its theologians, its moralists and its religious orders, and it is owing to them that this religion now ranks as one of the most important in the world.

Moreover, many of the Persians discovered that Islam did not devote itself sufficiently to religious sentiments. This idea produced many new theories, both mystic and ascetic, and a multiplication of sects, of which each one endeavoured to outdo the other in religious enthusiasm, and in practices of exterior devotion, thus causing Persian Mohammedanism to be anything but the genuine religion.

But the events which took place in the country parts of Persia show, better than anything else, how easily won were the triumphs of the bands of Bedouins who carried thither the religion of Mohammed. Persia, like Syria for that matter, reckoned among its inhabitants a considerable number of Arab immigrants, even entire tribes who had come from beyond Sinai. Many among them were Christians. But, notwithstanding this, they joined hands with their Mussulman brethren, and assisted them in crushing first the Sassanid and then the Byzantine empires. It was the Beni-Tai and the Beni-Namr in particular who assisted in the defeat of the Persian armies. Moreover, as Muir relates, "The Arab general, Mothanna, when exhorting his troops before these battles, did not speak to them of the religion of Islam which they were to propagate in the name of Allah, but solely of plunder, of slaves to be captured, of countries to be won, so that they might be able to enjoy their fruits."

All this clearly shows in what manner Islam, or rather the dominion of the Arabs, spread itself over the East. But we

must give a glance at the West, where this dominion also established itself and continued in power for long centuries. I refer to Spain. This country was at the time in an altogether abnormal position. It alone, of the whole Roman Empire, was the one province that still remained pagan. Christianity had certainly been preached there, but the people had learnt but little of it. The conquest of the country by the Visigoths had supervened; Arianism had followed in its wake, and, with Arianism, religious persecution. The conquest by the Suevi in the north-west had produced the same effects. Moreover, the German conquerors had stripped the Iberian inhabitants of their goods, and thus there was a triple source of disunion and even of antagonism. In addition to all this, the great lords of the Visigoths were continually fighting among themselves, and these quarrels were the cause of much suffering among the Iberian people. But the conversion of the Visigoths under Reccared quite changed the situation and altered the position of things; then the Arians became the disaffected party, and turned against their sovereigns and the ruling classes.

After the death of this great prince the Spanish monarchy fell, little by little, into complete decadence. Morals became corrupted, political troubles were of more frequent occurrence; the attacks of the Greeks and of the Basques caused the power of the Visigoths to become weaker and weaker. And, finally, the banishment of the Jews prepared new ground and new means for foreign invaders.

Thus it was in the midst of a state of corruption, of violent quarrels, and of plots of vengeance, that the Arabs, who were actually called in by a Spanish general, the too famous Count Julian, entered the kingdom of the pious Reccared, and gained an easy victory over the forces which opposed their invasion. Two armies, under the respective command of Tarik and of the Governor of Africa, Moussa, arrived successively, and in eighteen months completed the conquest of the Spanish soil. Treason, dissensions, the enervation of morals, and the tyranny of the Visigothic kings made this feat an easy task. Toledo was surrendered by its bishop, a Greek by birth, and who led the Arabs against Pelagius himself. The principal inhabitants of this unfortunate town were put to death. Seville and Merida were taken only after a long siege.

Many other cities were burnt by the savage Moussa, who cruelly tortured his prisoners, crucifying the chief among them, and slaughtering the women and children, as the Spanish historians, Roderigo and others, assert.

One can understand that these events, happening among an ignorant and corrupt people, would be the cause of many apostasies. These became very numerous, especially among the slaves, who no sooner professed their belief in Islam than they were transformed into farmers by the Caliph of Cordova.

But shortly after the conquest, the Moors allowed the Christians freedom to practise their religion, which permission at the same time did not prevent them being placed in a very inferior position, exposed to numerous though isolated insults and acts of oppression. And this, naturally, was the cause of many Spaniards embracing the religion of their African conquerors. Nevertheless, as by degrees the Catholic kings rescued Spain from the yoke of the foreigners, Islam disappeared with them, without leaving any trace behind, when the last Moorish State had succumbed beneath the attack of Ferdinand and Isabella, and with it the city of Granada, which had been the Moors' last refuge.

Thus, notwithstanding all these conquests, there was nothing about them of which the Mussulman religion could boast—no more than in those of the other countries of the Roman Empire, where the scimitar and the promise of temporal advantages were the means used to convert disciples.

But, if such was the state of things in Christian countries, the scene completely changes if we turn to the pagan peoples. There we shall see Islam spread and develop itself with most extraordinary force and rapidity without being able to ascribe this ever-increasing propagation either to violence or to the allurements of temporal benefits.

Let us, however, before entering into any details upon this subject remark that India was not by any means a country favourable to this propaganda. Islam was introduced into it by conquest. Mahmoud, the fierce sultan of Ghazni, seized Kashmir, Gujerat, and the greater portion of Northern India. At Sômnâth he destroyed the great idol, the gigantic *lingam* of Çiva, and founded a Turkish kingdom beyond the Indus. This happened in 1025. In the following century Mohammed

Gauri took Benares and destroyed all its idols. But these proceedings were quite exceptional. As a general rule, Turkish fanaticism was compelled to yield before the firm resistance of the Buddhist or Brahmanic peoples, and to leave them free to practise their religion. Idols remained everywhere, and at Benares were even re-erected. Islam was only practised in India by the Court and the rulers of the people, and though it may count a number of disciples in the vast Transgangetic peninsula, still there are very few among them who belong to the Hindu race; they are mostly Turks, Persians, Arabs or Mongol immigrants, who may be counted by millions.

What we have said about India may be also applied to China. In the Flowery Kingdom, as upon the banks of the Ganges, are to be found many Mussulman communities; but in these two vast countries they can count but very few natives who have been drawn by persuasion to embrace the teaching of the prophet of Mecca. In China, at least, the scimitar has never aided the apostolate, but the Chinese emperors have shown themselves favourable to the admission of the Mussulmans into their States, and allowed liberty to the religion of the Koran.

One of the first missionaries of this new religion, probably an uncle of the founder himself, was in 628 sent to the Court of Tai-Tsong, the second emperor of the Tong dynasty, the same who gave to Buddhism all the encouragement in his power. In 630 the first mosque was built at Canton, and it may have happened, though the fact is not known, that some Chinese, lovers of novelty, embraced the religion of Allah. Religious innovations were then fashionable. Besides which Allah might have appeared to the eyes of the enlightened Chinese as identical with Shang-ti, and to take part in the ceremonies of the mosque might appear to them the same as participating in the Tao-Shei or Buddhist ceremonials.

This mission, however, produced no remarkable results, and the real establishment of Mohammedanism in China was caused only by the immigration of Arab, Turkish, or Mongol tribes into the provinces of the West.

It was the merchants who, as usual, paved the way. Chinese annals tell us of people from Barbary who settled in the West under Hiuen-tsong, of the Tang dynasty (713-756),

and who carried with them their sacred books. These could not have been Buddhists, or the Chinese historian would not have spoken of them in such a manner. They must have been either Turks or Tartars to answer to such a description. Moreover, this emperor, being hard pressed by a rebel general who wished to take possession of the capital and to place the imperial crown upon his own head, could think of no better expedient than to get assistance from the Mohammedan Turks, at the same time promising to reward them richly for their services. In 756 another chief of these Tartars, described as king of Si-Yu, placed himself with an army of 5000 men at the service of the same emperor. Others joined him later on, and these foreigners establishing themselves in the provinces of the West thus laid the seat of Mohammedanism in the Chinese Empire.

At the present day the provinces of the north-west and of the south-west\* contain an extensive Mohammedan population, whose ancestors were brought into China by the favour of the Mongol emperors. This favour they continued to enjoy under the Mings, and even during the Mandchu dynasty, the Emperor Yong-cheng having a Mussulman for one of his wives.

During this century the various revolts of the Mussulman people eventually grew into a dangerous civil war, which caused a change in the disposition of the Chinese governors towards the rebels, and from that time forward Islam has been on the continual decrease in the empire.

As we before remarked, in all those countries which we have already mentioned, the conquests by conviction which Islam had made resolve themselves into a very small number. One cannot point out a single province or even town whose inhabitants embraced the religion of the Arabian Nabi, either through the peaceful preaching of apostles or from conviction.

But we shall find quite a different state of things if we turn our eyes towards the pagan countries where polytheism is much in practice.

The first to embrace Islam from a kind of conviction were

---

\* Principally Yün-nan. In 1295 Kubilai Khan created a Mohammedan from Turkestan, by name Omar, governor of this province. At the present day this religion numbers 800 families at Canton.

Turks of the West. Carried away by the ardent proselytising of the Arab chiefs, and overjoyed with the expectation of a paradise of sensual delights, they became the most fervent disciples of Mohammedanism and its most enthusiastic and violent propagators. The religion of the Arabian prophet and Buddhism were then struggling for mastery in Central Asia; the Turks, who were a turbulent race, ever greedy for the pleasures of this world, were ready to follow the teaching of the one which best satisfied their aspirations. They travelled far from their homes to convert their neighbours, the Afghans, in a manner more or less violent, and afterwards they founded a Mussulman kingdom in India, while at the same time a Mongol prince, chief of one of the States adjoining Turkestan, renounced Christianity so as to become a Mussulman like them.

Later on we shall see how they invaded Syria, destroyed the Greek Empire, and spread the kingdom of the Crescent as far as the banks of the Danube.

But the ambition of these disciples of Mohammed did not confine itself alone to the Asiatic continent, to the north of Africa, or the south of Europe; it seemed as if they wished to embrace the entire world. They met with great success in the Indian Archipelago and in the western islands of Oceania, as they also did, and still do to-day, in the central regions of the Dark Continent, among the Blacks, who have become their victims and the raw material for their vile trade.

As a general rule the first seeds of Islam were carried into these countries by merchants attracted thither by their love of gain. After them, and owing to them, colonies were formed, and then came the conquest. As early as the ninth century an Arab merchant had communicated a certain knowledge of his faith to the Malay people. He had come from Omar and traded in spices, which formed the chief commerce between this country and China.

In the thirteenth century, according to some writers, in the fourteenth according to others, a sheik from Mecca converted a great number of Achinese of Sumatra, and probably their prince among the rest; for, a few years later, their chief, who went by the Arab name of Al Melik ad-dhâdir, was a most zealous follower of Mohammed and engaged in a very bitter

war with his infidel neighbours. Marco Polo testifies to the state of things in these countries.

About the same time the Sultan of Malacca in his turn embraced Mohammedanism. In the Sunda Islands, Buddhism and Brahmanism had already preceded the religion of these new apostles and struggled hard against its advance, but they were only able to retard its progress very slightly. Lambri and Pasuri embraced it without resistance, and from these it spread little by little, from island to island, meeting with varying fortunes, but with continued successes side by side with the checks and the difficulties on its way. Such was the case in Java, Borneo, and in many other places. In Java the kingdom of Majaprahit occupied a great portion of the island; its king would not listen to the preaching of the missionaries, and maintained his subjects in their pagan faith. In 1476 the Mussulmans took possession of his capital, overthrew his power, and from that time forward were able to dictate the religion of the country.

In Celebes and Macassar the princes were converted by the words of "missionaries" from Mecca and by their ministers. The same happened in the Sulus and in a part of the Philippine Islands.

The progress of Mohammedanism met with the same success everywhere. It was the Arab merchants, adventurers, sometimes preachers, who went from Mecca or from Syria and won over to their cause some city or some local chief. He, in his turn, converted his subjects, and then spread the faith round about him by the force of arms. But in the last-mentioned islands violence played a very small part in the transformation. The same was the case in the cities of Africa of which we are now going to speak, though not with the Copts, who were treated with favour in the commencement, but were afterwards persecuted with great fury, particularly by the savage Hakim, so that the greater part of them were unable to endure the weight of their misfortunes and put an end to them by abjuring their faith. But in Nubia the tribes, who have richly merited the evil reputation they enjoy, embraced Islam with enthusiasm, and boasted that there was not one amongst them who belonged to any other religion. This change was brought about by some Arabs who emigrated at the time of

the Crusades. In any case this triumph of Mohammedanism among peoples who are described as "the most accomplished rogues and the most unscrupulous robbers in the whole world," does not reflect great honour upon the religion which conquered them.

Ever since the sixteenth century Islam has, without ceasing, gained ground in the regions of Africa. In the seventeenth century Cordofan and Darfur were won over to it; and later on the State of Wadai and of Baghirmi were also added. The way in which this religion was introduced into Wadai is described in a most detailed manner by an Arab author, Mohammed el Tounsi, whose work has been translated into French by M. Perron. A descendant of the Abbassides, Saleh by name, having been driven out of Egypt by the Fatimites, plunged into the sandy plains, and from Senaar passed on to Wadai, which at that time was entirely given up to the worship of idols. The preaching and the religious practices of the new-comer excited first the wonder and then the admiration of the inhabitants. Thus it came to pass that the greater number of them did not hesitate to place him at their head as chief both in a civil and a religious capacity. No sooner was his power confirmed than Saleh began to preach war against the infidels. The Wadaïtes, threatened with a disastrous war and terrified by the fanatical zeal of these unexpected enemies, at once submitted and hastened to embrace that faith which could save them from the evils which threatened them. But this was not sufficient for this extraordinary apostle. He still felt it necessary to subdue the neighbouring tribes and to reduce to slavery all those who resisted him.

Baghirmi has been Mohammedan for some years, and the armies of the Sultan of Wadai had a good deal to do with the change of religion among this people.

Mussulman expeditions and preachings first commenced in Central Africa at the opening of the tenth century. Information of a particularly precise and trustworthy character has been given to us upon this subject by the Arab author Hasan ibn Mohammed al Wazar, who became converted to Christianity and was afterwards known by the name of Leo Africanus. This writer lived in the thirteenth century. He informs us

that in the eleventh century Nigritia had been already explored by a missionary, a commercial adventurer who established Islam therein, or rather sowed the first seeds of it; after which the Almoavid Sultan, Usuf ben Tashfin, commenced the subjection of the negro tribes in the regions of Melli and Sonhay, and later on, towards the middle of this century, those of Silla also embraced the Mussulman religion. Shortly after, Timbuctu followed their example, and thus became the largest Mohammedan State in this part of Africa. From here the religion spread itself as far as the Niger, and Leo Africanus in his time counted no fewer than five kingdoms which were subject to its laws, Timbuctu and Bornu being the most celebrated. The latter, towards the end of the eleventh century, extended as far as Egypt.

The system generally followed in these countries by the preachers of Islam was to apply directly to the sovereign and to win him over to their cause by the use of appropriate arguments. The conversion of these potentates was the *shortest* means possible of procuring that of their subjects. Thus it was that, step by step, they made their way as far as the Great Lakes, but it was the work of long centuries.

Nor did the East of Africa escape these venturesome propagators of Islam. In the seventh and eighth centuries already some Arabs, who had come directly from their native country, settled all along the coast in the neighbourhood and below the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb. They drove away the inhabitants of the place and founded the State of Harar, whose capital not one single infidel is allowed to enter. From thence they proceeded to win over the Somalis and a portion of the Gallas, the rest remaining either Christian or pagan. Later on other invaders from Oman converted Zanzibar into a Mussulman State, and in this manner gained over some neighbouring tribes. Uganda only partly listened to the solicitations of these propagators of Islam. The events which have occurred lately in this last-mentioned State are too well known to make it necessary for us to enter into further details upon the subject.

In short, some conversions in these regions are due to persuasion, and others to either moral or physical violence.

The Island of Madagascar, however, deserves particular mention, for, as Haines says, it has proved how false is the opinion which is held by many to be indisputable—viz., “that Islam never loses its hold of any country of which it has once taken possession.”

The exact period of the introduction of Mohammedanism into the Island of Madagascar cannot quite be determined. It was first taken there by preachers who addressed themselves to the Antaimorona tribe. This tribe was, at that time, divided into two castes, the one sacerdotal and superior, who still honoured the supreme God Who had been universally acknowledged by their ancestors; the other and more popular caste, which had abandoned the God of their fathers, and given themselves up to the worship of inferior genii, his agents. A violent struggle had taken place between the two, and had ended in the defeat of the Monotheists. Thus it was that these latter eagerly welcomed the disciples of Allah, and the people, owing to their easy morals and because of the celestial pleasures promised to them, also followed their example, and the whole tribe, apparently, became Mohammedan. But their ardour was not of long duration, and some years later the Antaimorona returned to the worship of their former gods, though not without retaining at the same time some relics of Mussulman practices. They still speak of Allah, still make use of some of the formulas of the Koran liturgy or of those inspired by Mussulman fatalism, such as “it is written by Allah” (*mektub Allah*); but that is about all. The Koran was replaced by books of fortune-telling, compiled by the saints of their religion, and which, though occupying a place of honour in their libraries and in their houses, are completely ignored by the islanders, who do not even take the trouble to find out what they contain. Some of their books, called *Sora-be*, are filled with legends of which their former gods are the heroes. The Comte de Mandave, who endeavoured to colonise the south of this great island under Louis XVI., tells us that “the region of Anossi is inhabited by Arabs who went thither in the sixteenth century.” He also adds that the Comoro Islands were also subdued by the same adventurers. Thus Mohammedanism in this island is not the fruit of conversion. But in spite of all this

Mandave declares that the inhabitants of Madecasse possessed only some books of divination, astrology and medicine, with the exception of a few senseless legends.\*

In the south-east of Madagascar are to be found a certain number of Mohammedans, but these are the descendants of Arab immigrants, who came directly from Mecca and established themselves in these parts. For the rest their Mohammedanism is not at all pure. They possess a quantity of fetiches to which they give most zealous worship, as for example the stone elephant of Mananjari.† But I have said enough, I imagine, about the great African island. Let us pause for a moment to glance at the present state of Mohammedanism in its entirety.

It would be superfluous to point out the different Mussulman provinces in the north of Africa and in the Turkish Empire, or those in Tartary, Afghanistan, and in Eastern Asia generally. India numbers from sixteen to twenty million Mohammedans, who are not entirely exempt from idolatrous practices, and live principally in the towns. They keep themselves aloof from the other inhabitants of the country, whom they hold in great contempt, according to the laws of the Koran.

In the Indian Archipelago, Islam has made such conquests as we have already shown, and is constantly spreading, thanks to the great number of merchants, pilgrims, and even pirates, who are constantly exercising their zeal. But this Islamism is more nominal than real. The same is the case in Java, where the religious laws are not in the least observed. But the Mohammedan *ulema* or priests, of whom there is a very large number, keep up a savage fanaticism which prevents apostasy. The same appears to be the case in Persia, and Count Gobineau, who lived in this country from 1855 to 1858, says that Islam in Persia may be looked upon as dead, if not yet entirely buried, which means to say that the Persians possessed nothing but the name of Islam. In the towns, above all, irreligion absolutely predominated.

---

\* See Pougel de S. André, "La colonisation de Madagascar d'après la correspondance inédite du Comte de Mandave." Paris, 1886.

† See the interesting work of M. Gabriel Ferrand, "Les Musulmans à Madagascar et aux îles Comores." Paris, 1891. E. Leroux.

The principal strength of the Mohammedan religion is to be found, as every one knows, in the Turkish Empire and in the north of Africa. The religious doctrines and practices are there still honoured and in full vigour, which is owing, above all, to the powerful organisation of the clergy, of whom the Sultan is the head, by the intermediary of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the actual director. The Berbers, in general, neglect their religion, eat pork, drink to satiety, and very seldom, if ever, attend the public prayers.

It has been said of the Persians that "they accepted Islamism under reservation," and of the Arabs that "they propagated it even by the use of arms, on the condition that they themselves should not be subject to its laws." In fact, they proclaim Allah and his prophet, but they only laugh at the prayers, the fasts, the ablutions, and even at the pilgrimages prescribed by him. Nor are the Chinese Mussulmans of an exemplary orthodoxy, though the opposition which they encounter from other religions in the empire keeps up in them a more religious frame of mind, and makes them more faithful to the principles of their religion.

But notwithstanding all this, Islam still reigns supreme over widespread regions, and is professed by numbers of people, either in their hearts, or by word of mouth alone; but even in the latter case, so thoroughly are they attached to it, so fanatically do they cling to it, that there is no room for the slightest hope of change or of conversion. While it is dying out of the hearts of some, it continues to spread in the uncivilised regions of Africa, and especially in Oceania. It has often been asked what can be the cause of this uninterrupted development, and how it is that the propagation of Christianity is so difficult, while its most redoubtable enemy grows and spreads continually, and without difficulty? The answer to this question is easily found. In the early days Islam spread itself by the sword, by the violence exercised by those millions of valiant and fanatical warriors who went forth from Arabia to overrun Asia, Africa, and Europe; and even though these savage conquerors did not always compel all their new subjects to embrace their faith, though they preferred to receive from them a tribute, they nevertheless made the existence of these infidels under their sway so miserable that a

great number of them were not long able to endure their unhappy position, and turned Mussulman to escape from the humiliations, vexations, and oppressions which weighed them down. Besides which ambition and avarice played also their part, and caused many to forsake their duty. This was all the easier, because of the ignorance of the people, the weakness of their faith, and the many religious dissensions which had caused the greater number of them to lose their sense of duty. The resemblance between the Christian teaching and that of Islam, and the many things which Mohammed borrowed from the Bible, contributed not a little towards leading the people into error, all the more so because of the splendid victories which the Mussulman troops made believe were the working of Providence.

Add to all this, that the tyranny of the Byzantine emperors and of the kings of Persia had prepared many of their subjects to be willing to try any lot which seemed to them a happier one under any other dominion.

As to the present spread of Mohammedanism, it can be explained easily and from different causes.

The first, and I think the principal one, is the nature of the Mussulman doctrine itself, its extreme simplicity, which excludes all mystery and all dogma at all difficult to understand. One only God, and the mission of a man sent by Him—that sums up and includes the whole. This doctrine satisfies at the same time both the needs of religiosity and the natural monotheistic tendency of the human mind and heart.

More than this, its moral system, which is so wide and so elastic, completely satisfies the strongest demands of the human passions—thirst for pleasure, love of riches, free scope for anger and revenge, the desire of plunder, &c.

In addition to this, a paradise with the hopes of a future life, wherein all the passions will be fully satisfied and all pleasures will reach their highest point, entire absence of any subjection to a foreign spiritual authority regulating one's acts and imposing obedience to its decrees.

All this is well suited to please these coarse and corrupt peoples, and also their sovereigns, whose virtues are no greater than those of their subjects.

It is necessary, if we wish to understand these conversions

to Islam, to make ourselves acquainted with their real nature. The apostles of the Koran do not require great things from their neophytes—no change of life, no correction of morals. The converts, in these days above all, have only to profess this formula—"Allah is God and Mohammed His prophet;" and all is said. They do not look into their hearts, they do not seek to discover their motives; they are left to their former superstitions and prejudices on the one only condition—they must abandon the worship of idols. The whole teaching confines itself to this one sentence alone, unless the convert himself should study his new belief. When converting an African prince who is a polygamist and a slave-dealer, the Christian missionaries require him to abandon his wives and to put an end to his traffic in human beings. The Mohammedan preacher, on the contrary, tells him that he may keep his wives and even add to their number if he wishes. It will be easily guessed which teaching would be accepted by an African, Javanese, or Manilla potentate, unless he were really inspired by a higher grace.

Another cause of success is to be found in the proselytising spirit of the Mussulman, in the laity as well as in the *imams*, in the merchant no less than in the pilgrim, and even in the brigands who ravage the lands of the "infidels."

One must confess that the Mussulman, above all he whom we may call the *bourgeois* Mohammedan, knows nothing of self-respect. He is proud of his belief, and is constantly displaying it before everybody. This is not surprising. The Christian showed the same disposition, until hostile minds employed every means in their power to cast ridicule upon his doctrines and practices. The Mussulman, who possesses but very few of these latter, and who finds nothing troublesome or difficult to understand as to what he should do or believe, is not called upon to meet with the same sneers against his religion, before which human weakness cannot fail to blush.

The original spirit of Mohammedanism has thus far, in general, been perpetuated. This spirit consists in the contempt of all religions which do not recognise a pure monotheism, or contain mysteries, or acknowledge saints or intermediaries between heaven and itself. Believing themselves superior to all the rest of humanity, and full of contempt for all who are

not disciples of the last and greatest of the prophets, the Mussulmans, as a rule, have no other temptation than to parade their belief and to impose it upon everybody else.

Thus every Mussulman who finds himself in an "infidel" country becomes a zealous missionary of his faith, and as merchants and adventurers professing the same belief swarm everywhere, it is easy for them to cast the seed of their word all the world over, and to make it grow and bear fruit.

More than this, they have the diplomacy to address themselves, in the first place and directly, to the princes or chiefs of the different countries which they wish to convert, to flatter them, and to make themselves attractive by their pleasant manners. Once these petty African or Indian despots are won over, they begin to impose their new faith upon their subjects and upon the other tribes which have fallen into their power by the fortunes of war. In fact, the doctrines of the Koran, far from preaching humility and self-abnegation, exalt man's pride and egotism, and shows him that his salvation is the work of his own hand, and temporal triumph over infidels an act of supreme merit and the principal end to be gained.

This doctrine, therefore, was admirably suited to the natural dispositions of man, and most especially to the opinions, character, and vices of the people of the East and Africa. To be a Christian one must obtain the victory over one's mind and heart, and lift one out of oneself by constant efforts; to be a Mussulman it is sufficient to follow the inclinations of our corrupt nature and to wallow in the mire. Thus Islam has destroyed all the nobility of the human soul and all its higher aspirations wherever it has gained complete sway. Persia and Spain alone have escaped this degradation and retained some remnants of a superior civilisation and of the arts and sciences, because in these countries Islam, as we have already remarked, reigned but in name.

But, on the other hand, a faith so indulgent to the bad side of nature, and which is propagated by so many zealous missionaries, will always prove a source of great danger to civilisation and humanity; it will always be necessary to be on the watch to arrest its progress.

The anti-slavery crusade and the creation of an independent Congo State have already proved powerful barriers to its later

invasions; but these are not sufficient. It is necessary to form against it a general union of all the Christian Powers.

What, then, can we say, under such circumstances, of men—even of learned Europeans, living in a Christian land—who make a display of their preference for Islam over the faith of their fathers? What can we say of those who assume the turban, and enrol themselves among the followers of Mohammed?

When we think of such things the pen falls from our hands, and we have no longer the courage to express our thoughts.

C. DE HARLEZ.

## ART. II.—ROME'S TRIBUTE TO ANGLICAN ORDERS.

1. *Rome's Tribute to Anglican Orders: A Defence of the Episcopal Succession and Priesthood of the Church of England founded on the Testimony of the best Roman Catholic Authorities.* By REV. MONTAGUE BUTLER. London: Church Defence Institution, 1893.
2. *The Question of Anglican Ordinations.* Discussed by E. E. ESTCOURT, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham. London, 1873.
3. *The Anglican Ministry: Its Nature and Value in Relation to the Catholic Priesthood.* By ARTHUR WOLLASTON HUTTON, M.A. London, 1879.
4. *The Ordinal of Edward VI.: Its History, Theology, and Liturgy.* By Dom WILFRID RAYNAL, O.S.B. London, 1871.

UNDER the heading "Rome's Tribute to Anglican Orders," the Rev. Montague Butler has published a brochure on behalf of the Church Defence Institution, the object of which is to prove to the Anglican world that Rome has stamped with her approval the validity of Anglican Orders. For its own sake this work is not worth notice, for it is a persistent attempt to pervert the plain facts of English history; but for the sake of those who are likely to be victimised by a number of assertions made with any amount of assurance, the present writer was requested to make an *exposé* of this historical fraud the subject of a paper for the Historical Research Society. It is to be regretted that such replies are called for by the decline in the moral tone of modern Anglican controversy, owing to the demoralising influence of the late Dr. Littledale. In the days of the old Tractarians, Anglican controversy was a model for gentleness of manner and honesty of purpose. But some of their modern

successors are no longer humble searchers after truth, but defenders of a cause, mere advocates with a gallery to play to, and who do not disdain the tactics of an Old Bailey lawyer. Misstatements of facts that have been long ago riddled into rags, and which ought to be referred to only with an expression of regret that any Anglican writer had made use of them, are repeated as calmly as if the writers were not aware of the fact; as Pope puts it—

Who shames the scribbler? Break one cobweb through,  
He spins the slight, self-pleasing thread anew :  
Destroy his fib or sophistry, in vain,  
The creature's at his dirty work again.

It is a weary task slaying the slain, but in the interest of the public the scribbler's fibs and sophistry must not be left without an answer.

# I.

Ever since it has been drawn up, the validity of the Anglican Ordinal has been questioned. Age after age has the Catholic Church recorded her earnest conviction in her practice. Two Anglican bishops and hundreds of Anglican clergy have asked for admission into her fold. In every case when any such have sought admission to her ministry it has always been on the same condition, they must enter as laymen. On her own showing, if she admitted there was even a doubt as to the invalidity of Anglican Orders, such a course would convict her of sacrilege. To attempt to show that she has ever acted in such a way as to convict herself of this great crime, would be a waste of labour. Yet such seems to be the attempt made by the author of "*Rome's Tribute.*" He seeks to show that the Roman Church has committed herself to a theory which she rejects in practice. The public might well have hoped that after all that has been written on the point, the main historical facts are now agreed upon, and that the only dispute can be as to their value. This tract, however, proves that this expectation is in vain. The hopeless way in which the Rev. Montague Butler mixes up the Edwardine Bishops deposed in Mary's reign with the Catholic Bishops confirmed by Pole in their sees, shows that he has not grasped the elementary historical facts upon which he undertakes to enlighten the

public, and that the work of laborious and conscientious writers has been thrown away.

In order to understand what follows, it is necessary to remind the reader that by the time Edward VI. ascended the throne Cranmer had quite given up his faith in the real presence, the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacramental character of Holy Orders. He had adopted the view set forth in the 25th Article, that Holy Orders was "not a sacrament," and "has not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." If, then, Holy Orders is no longer to be considered a sacrament in the new dispensation, it followed that it conferred no sacramental grace or sacrificial character, and that the new ministers had no more power to confer Christian sacraments *ex opere operato* than the parish clerk. As the old Pontificals, which had been in use in this country since its conversion to Christianity, were drawn up on the principle that Holy Orders was a sacrament, which conferred a sacramental grace and sacrificial character on the recipient, and were used as the *forms* by which this sacramental grace and sacrificial character were imparted, it became necessary to draw up new forms for appointing ministers, in order that the new rite might conform to the new doctrine. Accordingly, the forms for consecrating bishops and priests contained in the old Pontificals were put on one side and a "new sort and fashion of orders," now known as the Ordinal of Edward VI., was drawn up according to Cranmer's Calvinistic notions, and legalised A.D. 1550.

Six reformers were consecrated by the new Ordinal, and given English sees—viz., Harley was given Hereford; Taylor, Lincoln; Hooper, Gloucester; Scory, Chichester; the infamous Poynt was intruded into Winchester, Gardiner the lawful bishop being still living; and Coverdale was given Exeter. Ferrar, another reformer, had been consecrated in September 1548 to St. David's. The new form had not then been legalised, and was not therefore used, but, as Collier remarks, "his consecration was not altogether according to the old form." Mr. Butler undertakes the Quixotic task of persuading Anglicans, unlearned in English Ecclesiastical History, that Cardinal Pole and several Popes recognised the Episcopal Orders of these men and confirmed them in their sees. With what success and by what means will appear in the sequel.

## II. WHAT ROME'S TRIBUTE TO ANGLICAN ORDERS REALLY WAS.

Queen Mary ascended the throne July 19, A.D. 1553. The reform movement had by this time practically killed itself. The shameless scrambling after the goods of the Church, the open and disgraceful profligacy of reforming prelates like Poynt and Holgate, an example that was followed by the bulk of the lesser reforming clergy, had revolted and disgusted the religious-minded portion of the people, and alienated their sympathies from the new religion established by Cranmer. The feeling on all sides was, Down with it, even to the ground. Even such a one-sided writer as Burnet testifies to this fact.

The untimely death of King Edward [he writes] was looked upon by all people as a just judgment of God upon those who pretended to love and promote a reformation, but whose impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdness in which many lived without shame or remorse gave great occasion to our adversaries to say that they were right to assert justification by faith without works, since they were as to every good reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying part of it to the promoting the Gospel, the instructing of youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude that it was for Robbery, not for Reformation, that their zeal made them so active.\*

And again, their

irregular and immoral lives gave their enemies great advantages to say they ran away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayer, only that they might be under no restraint and indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute life. . . . The people grew to look on all the changes that had been made as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers, and let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation.†

This being the popular feeling, it is not to be wondered at that Queen Mary's first Parliament proceeded at once to sweep away the whole of Cranmer's ecclesiastical legislation. The second statute, ch. ii., amongst other things, lays down—

In consideration whereof, be it enacted and established . . . that an Act made for the ordering of ministers . . . and every clause, sentence, and branch, article and articles mentioned, expressed or con-

\* "History," &c., iii. p. 216.

† *Ibid.* iii. p. 217.

tained in the said estatutes and in every one of them, shall be from henceforth utterly repelled, void, adnichillate, and of no effect, to all purposes, contencions and intents.\*

The legal status of the reforming clergy was thus gone. This action of Parliament, be it remembered, was not taken at the instance of the Roman Curia, it was the spontaneous act of the English people. It was the *vox populi* giving expression through their representatives of their conviction that the new clergy were not possessed of the grace of Holy Orders, and therefore not qualified to officiate at the altars of the English Church. Upon this the Queen takes action. In order that sacrilege and profanation of religious rites might not continue, she addressed a letter to Bouner, Bishop of London, dated March 3, 1554, in which she takes for granted that the invalidity of the "new sort and fashion of orders" was so unquestionable that it was not necessary to wait for the arrival of the Pope's legate, and that the matter required to be dealt with without delay. Accordingly, in her letter she directs, art. 15 :

Item, touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering that they are *not ordered in very deed*, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in these men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before and then according to his discretion admit them to minister.†

This official document is valuable evidence. It testifies, not to the personal views of the Queen, but to those of her legal advisers, and embodies the views of contemporary witnesses, who had every opportunity of knowing the facts of the case, as to the religious status of those ordained according to the Ordinal of Edward VI. Their view was that such men were not really in orders at all, and that the bishop must supply what was wanting in them before he admitted them to officiate. This letter was followed by prompt measures. Commissions were issued (see Rymer, xv. 70) for proceeding against the new Protestant prelates, dated March, A.D. 1554, which resulted in their deposition. The sentence upon Taylor, Hooper, and Harley is given in Burnet as follows :

---

\* "Statutes of the Realm," 1st Mary, st. 2, c. li., vol. iv. p. 1.

† Collier, vi. p. 64, ed. 1852.

The register of Canterbury, in which all these deprivations are recorded, testifieth that on the 20th March, 1554, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester, and Durham, by virtue of the Queen's commission directed to them, pronounced the sentence of deprivation upon John Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, *ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a Rege Edwardo Sexto per literas patentes cum hoc clausula dum bene se gesserit*, upon John Hooper, Bishop of Winchester and Gloucester, *propter conjugium et alia mala merita et vitiosum titulum ut supra* upon John Harlowe, Bishop of Hereford, *propter conjugium et heresim ut supra*.\*

Scory and Ferrar had been deprived already as well as Coverdale who fled the country, and Poynt who had to make way for Gardiner, the rightful Bishop of Winchester.† The decision in the case of Taylor, that his consecration was null and his title defective, would, of course, apply to the cases of all those who were consecrated under the same conditions, and who held episcopal sees on the strength of their consecration by the Ordinal of Edward VI. If such a consecration was null in one case, it was null in all. When, therefore, Cardinal Pole landed in England, on the 12th of the following November, there were not left any prelates of the "new sort and fashion of orders" in possession of any English See for him to deal with. And the fact, that he confirmed the action of the English bishops in thus dealing with the bishops and clergy of the new learning renders it more than probable that they acted under his instructions, for he had already been appointed by Pope Julius III. legate *a latere* to the English Court, with full power to deal with the whole situation. Bonner certainly had been privately absolved and given faculties, for otherwise there would have been no bishop holding faculties in England. Both Canterbury and York were vacant, and this explains the prominent post assigned to Bonner in dealing with the clergy.

The *status* of the clergy in England at the time was four-fold. (1) There were the bishops and clergy who had been consecrated or ordained in the time of Henry VIII. before the

\* Vol. ii. p. 441, editor's note (46).

† Exeter was restored to Voysey, the lawful bishop, by Royal licence, Sept. 28, 1553; Chichester was restored to Day in like manner, March 18, 1554; Winchester was restored to Gardiner, Aug. 9, 1553; St. David's was given to Morgan, April 1, 1554. The intruders, Coverdale, Scory, Poynt, and Ferrar, were deprived.

schism according to the full rites of the old Pontifical, and whose orders had been therefore both *rightly* and *legitimately* conferred. Bishops Gardiner of Winchester and Tunstall of Durham were so consecrated. (2) There were those who had been ordered during the schism, still with the full rites of the old Pontifical, and whose orders, though *rightly*, were not *legitimately*, conferred. Thirlby of Norwich, and others mentioned later on, were in this position. (3) There were those cases in which the old Pontifical had indeed been used, but with certain mutilations, such as the omission of the tradition of the instruments common in the first two years of Edward VI.'s reign. Ferrar of St. David's is a case in point. His consecration, Collier tells us, "had not been altogether according to the old form." \* (4) There were those whose orders had been conferred altogether after the "new sort and fashion of orders." We cannot have a better tribute to the validity of these different classes of orders than is to be found in the instructions issued by the Holy See to Cardinal Pole as to how he is to deal with them.

Cardinal Pole had been appointed legate and received his faculties by a brief dated August 5, A.D. 1553, but as these proved insufficient to meet the circumstances of the case, a second brief, with enlarged faculties and power to delegate as well as use them out of the kingdom, was issued, dated March 8, A.D. 1554. The brief clearly recognises the four classes of clergy already mentioned.

(1) It speaks of those "*rightly and legitimately* promoted and ordained before their fall into heresy." These had only to be dispensed from the censures incurred by their schism and heresy. The dispensation issued to Bishop Tunstall of Durham expressly recites the fact that he had been confirmed in his bishopric by the authority of the Holy See. (2) It speaks of those "who had received orders or the office of consecration from other bishops or archbishops, even heretics and schismatics, and in other respects *unduly*." Such orders were treated as valid, though irregular, "provided that the *form and intention* of the Church had been preserved." † We have the

---

\* Part ii. book iv. No. 266.

† Both briefs are given in Dodd's "Church History," vol. ii. appendix xxii.

Sudan, Present State of, 175.  
Surtees, Robert, 130.

TESTAMENT, Canon of New, 420.  
Tibet, Journey Across, 449.  
Tosti's Life of St. Benedict, 376.  
Transvaal, 457.

UGANDA, 451.  
Université Catholique, 463.

VAN den Biesen, Dr., 40.  
Vaticani, Constitutiones, *noticed*, 198.  
Vaughan, Rev. J. S., 16.  
Verses on Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects, *noticed*, 479.  
Vestiges of Trinity in Creation, 16.  
Vezzano, F. Marcello da, 486.  
Vicar of Christ, *noticed*, 203.  
Vigouroux, F., 206.  
Visitatione, de Canonica, *noticed*, 482.  
Vorges, M. Domet de, 216.

WILMERS, S.J., Father, 194.

ZANTE, Earthquake in, 453.  
Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, 187, 462.  
Zimbabwe, Ruins of, 447.

Pilgrimages, Early English, 245.  
 Pingaud, Leonce, 482.  
 Poems by Alice Meynell, *noticed*, 480.  
 Poems in Petroleum, *noticed*, 489.  
 Poésie Liturgique du Moyen-Age, *noticed*, 488.  
 Polar Expedition, Proposed English, 454.  
 Political Economy Notes, 169.  
 Primer for Converts, *noticed*, 209.  
 Psalmen der Vulgata, die, *noticed*, 196.

QUEENSLAND, 456, 458.

REBELLION, A, 218.  
 Regnon, Rev. P. de, 207.  
 Revolution, French, 189.  
 Revue des Questions Historiques, 187.  
 Rhythm of Life, *noticed*, 480.  
 Rickaby, Rev. R., 208.  
 Robert Surtees, 130.  
 Robinson, J. Armitage, 212.  
 Rock, Rev. D., 204.  
 Rogers, J. W. F., 240.  
 Russian Church, 1.

SABELA, Rev. P., 489.  
 Sacrament, Devotion to Most Holy, *noticed*, 492.  
 Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church, *noticed*, 199.  
 Saintsbury, G., 482.  
 Sanguineti, S., 196.  
 Scholars at Bologna, English, 66.  
 Schools, Evening Continuation, 137.  
 Schwane, Dr., 195.  
 Scott-Coward, W., 150.  
 Segneri, Father Paul, 236.  
 Selinger, Rev. Dr., 471.  
 Sermons, Course of Lenten, *noticed*, 489.  
 Servite Manual, *noticed*, 489.  
 Shareholders, Moral Responsibility of, 442.  
 Siberian Lepers, 182.  
 Sicard, l'Abbè, 485.  
 Sicily, Phœnician, Greek, and Roman, *noticed*, 469.  
 Slater, W. F., 472.  
 Socialism, History of, 443.  
 Sociologie Catholique, 446.  
 Spiritual Letters of Father Surin, *noticed*, 49.  
 Stanton, Rev. R., 230.  
 Stimmen-aus-Maria-Laach, 187, 462.  
 Sting of Death, *noticed*, 490.

- Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, *noticed*, 223.  
 Liquid Air and Oxygen, 162.  
 Lods, A., 472.  
 Logic and Mental Philosophy, *noticed*, 240  
 Loyola, Great Educators, *noticed*, 478.  
 Lucas, Rev. H., 268.  
  
 MACKENZIE, G. T., 27.  
 Manifestation of Conscience, *noticed*, 490.  
 Manna of the Soul, *noticed*, 236.  
 Mariani, Fasti, *noticed*, 203.  
 Masailand, 459.  
 Mashonaland, 177.  
 Mashonaland, Natives of, 448.  
 Mars explained, *noticed*, 488.  
 Massaja, Cardinal, 293.  
 Méditations sur la Vie de N.S.J.C., *noticed*, 481.  
 Melcher's Cardinal, 482.  
 Menelik and his Court, King, 173.  
 Menology of England and Wales, *noticed*, 230.  
 Meschler, R. P., 281.  
 Meteorology of Health Resorts, 163.  
 Meynell, Alice, 480.  
 Miscellaneous Essays, *noticed*, 482.  
 Missa Catechumenorum, 268.  
 Monica, Life of St., *noticed*, 477.  
 Monteiro, M., 486.  
 Montfort, Blessed L. M. Grignon de, *noticed*, 208.  
 Moon, Mountains of the, 451.  
 More, Life and Writings of Sir Thomas, *noticed*, 215.  
 Moyes, Rev. J., 245.  
  
 NANSEN'S Proposed Expedition, 180.  
 Niagara, Utilisation of, 435.  
  
 OFFICIUM Parvum, B.V.M., 483.  
 Oligarchic Government in France, 191.  
 Oman, C. W., 476.  
 Outlook, our Educational, 150.  
 Owen, late Sir Richard, 437.  
 Oxford, Friars at, 84.  
  
 PATRICK'S Hymn-book, St., *noticed*, 493.  
 Patronage in India, 27.  
 Peacock Florence, 130.  
 Perception et la Psychologie Thomiste, *noticed*, 216.  
 Peter, Gospel and Revelation, *noticed*, 212, 472.  
 Philotheus and Eugenia, *noticed*, 491.

Gospel according to Peter, *noticed*, 212.  
 Gospels of the Sundays, Analysis of, *noticed*, 470.  
 Grammar and Logic, *noticed*, 240.  
 Granderath, Th., 198.  
 Grange, Mrs., 360.  
 Grant, J. C., 489.  
 Gretton, S.J., Rev. J. G., 492.

HARRIS, J. Rendel, 472.  
 Health Resorts, Meteorology, 163.  
 Hénoch, le Livre d', *noticed*, 472.  
 Herbert, The Lady, 1.  
 Hexateuch, Authorship, &c., 40.  
 Hierurgia, *noticed*, 204.  
 Hindu Kush, 181.  
 Historisch-politische Blätter, 186, 462.  
 History of the Church of England, *noticed*, 228.  
 Hoberg, Professor, 196.  
 Holweh, F. G., 203.  
 Holy Hill, *noticed*, 492.  
 Home Rule, Bataille de, *noticed*, 492.  
 Hughes, Rev. T., 478.  
 Humphrey, Rev. W., 203.  
 Hunnybun, W. M., 137.

IGNATIUS, Spirit of St., *noticed*, 237.  
 India, Patronage in, 27.  
 Inter-oceanic Canal, 455.

JAMES, Croake, 240.  
 Jesuiten-Fabeln, *noticed*, 223.  
 Jésus Christ, Notre Seigneur, *noticed*, 201.  
 Jesus, the All-Beautiful, *noticed*, 201.  
 Jowett, B., 231.  
 Juba, Sources of, 180.  
 Juris Ecclesiastici Institutiones, *noticed*, 196.

KATHOLIK, 185, 460.  
 Kegan-Paul, C., 204.  
 Kelt and Gael, *noticed*, 468.

LABOUR and Capital, Limited, 341.  
 Lambing, Rev. A., 199.  
 Lancaster-Woodbourne, G. B., 84.  
 Layman's Day, *noticed*, 203.  
 Leading Ideas of the Gospels, *noticed*, 238.  
 Lepers, Siberian, 182.  
 Lesêtre, H., 201.

Christopher Columbus, *noticed*, 486.  
 Church, Society of Divine Praise, *noticed*, 490.  
 Cisalpine Club, 107, 321  
 Ciudad de Dios, 463.  
 Civiltà, 190, 465.  
 Clerke, Miss E. M., 293.  
 Confessio Viatoris, *noticed*, 204.  
 Constitutiones Dogmaticae S., Œcumenici Concilii Vaticani, *noticed*, 198.  
 Coppens, Rev. C., 240.  
 Corinth Canal, 452.  
 Corps et Âme, *noticed*, 217.  
 Creed Explained, *noticed*, 237.  
 Cristoforo Colombo, *noticed*, 486.  
 Curiosities of Christian History, *noticed*, 240.

DENIFLE, H., 221.  
 Devine, Rev. A., 247.  
 Dialogues of Plato, *noticed*, 231.  
 Dictionnaire de la Bible, *noticed*, 206.  
 Dogmen Geschichte der vornicanischen Zeit, *noticed*, 195.  
 Droit Sociale de l'Eglise, *noticed*, 489.  
 Duhr, Rev. B., 223.  
 Durward, Rev. J., 209.

EARLY English Pilgrimages, 245.  
 Edmund Campion, S.J., 187.  
 Educational Outlook, 150.  
 English Scholars at Bologna, 66.  
 Études de Théologie Positive, *noticed*, 207.  
 Evening Continuation Schools, 137.  
 Evolution and Energy, 192.

FAITH and Life of Early Church, *noticed*, 472.  
 Fasti Mariana, *noticed*, 203.  
 Fiji, Missionary Progress in, 184.  
 Fitzgerald, Percy, 203.  
 François de Sales, Œuvres de S., *noticed*, 467.  
 Françoise, Rev. Fr. Xavier de, 237.  
 Freeman, E. A., 469.  
 Friars at Oxford, 84.

GARDAIR, M. J., 217.  
 Gasquet, Dr., 420.  
 Gaynor, Rev. E., 493.  
 Geschichte der Religion, *noticed*, 194.  
 Godré, Le Nemours, 492.  
 Gonella, E. 470.

## INDEX.

JANUARY—APRIL 1893.

AERIAL Navigation, 167.  
Agent Secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire, *noticed*, 484  
Agnosticism, *noticed*, 471.  
Agricultural Union, 445.  
Alexander, W., D.D., 238.  
Allaria, Rev. Dr., 66.  
Allies, Mary H., 228.  
Alluminium, Future of, 161.  
Amherst, S.J., Rev. W., 107, 321.  
Ancien Clergé de France, *noticed*, 485.  
Anemometers, Dine's new, 439.  
Apocrypha, the new, *noticed*, 472.  
Aquinas Ethicus, *noticed*, 208.  
Atkins, T. de Courcy, 468.  
Augustine and the Donatists, St., 397.  
Authorship of Hexateuch, 40.

BARRY, Rev. Dr., 341.  
Bellasis, Mr. Serjeant, 491.  
Bernard, Life and Works of St., *noticed*, 214.  
Bologna, English Scholars at, 66.  
Bossuet, Historien du Protestantisme, *noticed*, 218.  
Bougaud, M. l'Abbé, 477.  
Bridget, Select Revelations of St., *noticed*, 490.  
Bridgett, Rev. T. E., 215.  
British Bechuanaland, 179.  
Burton, Rev. P., 397.  
Byzantine Empire, *noticed*, 476.

CANON of New Testament, 420.  
Casey, Rev. J., 479.  
Catechumenorum, Missa, 268.  
Censuris latae Sententiae, de, *noticed*, 470.  
Charles I., Passage in Life of, 360.  
Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, *noticed*, 221.  
Chevalier, U., 488.



THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. CXII.

---

JANUARY—APRIL 1893.

---

LONDON :  
BURNS & OATES LIMITED. J. DONOVAN, 19 HENRIETTA STREET, W.C.  
DUBLIN: M. H. GILL & SON.  
NEW YORK, CINCINNATI & CHICAGO: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

dispensations granted to several diocesan bishops and suffragans consecrated during the schism under Henry VIII., before the new Anglican Ordinal had been drawn up. Thirlby of Norwich, for instance, is granted absolution "even on account of the undue detention of the church of Norwich and its revenues, and his receiving whatever orders and the gift of consecration from heretical and schismatical bishops, and in other respects *unduly* (*alias minus rite*)," and Pole dispenses him; so that, notwithstanding the irregularity thereby incurred, he "may exercise all the orders received as aforesaid, even *unduly*, and may be appointed to any cathedral church as bishop, and may use the gift of consecration as aforesaid." \*

Day, Bishop of Chichester, is dispensed and absolved in much the same terms "to exercise even the sacred orders and the priesthood received as aforesaid from heretical and schismatical bishops *even unduly*, provided that the *form* and *intention* of the Church had been preserved."† Aldridge of Carlisle, Salcot of Sarum, Hethe of Worcester, Kitchin of Llandaff, King of Oxford, and Bonner of London, had all been consecrated during the schism under Henry VIII., but by the form in the old Pontificals, and in each case their orders and consecrations are said to have been "received from heretical bishops and in other respects *unduly*." The clause then in the Pope's brief, *alias minus rite*, was clearly understood to describe those who had been consecrated during the schism before the Ordinal of Edward VI. had come into existence, and Dr. Lee and other Anglican writers are as clearly wrong in supposing that it refers to those in Anglican Orders. These documents tell us who are included under this clause. There are also given in the same Register the dispensations granted to Shaxton as suffragan. He is allowed to exercise episcopal functions with the consent of his bishop. Holgate, however, is not allowed to exercise episcopal functions, whilst Hodgekin is interdicted and suspended. The reason for this distinction was that the two latter, though real Catholic bishops, were friars, members of religious orders, who had presumed to marry in defiance of their religious vows.

\* "Regist. Exped.," vol. i. p. 2.  
[No. 8 of *Fourth Series*.]

† *Ibid.*, fol. 47.  
3 E

(3) It speaks of those who had been *ordered irregularly and without observing the usual form of the Church*. These also the Cardinal had power to "rehabilitate" if on examination he found the form used sufficient for a valid ordination. But on examination of the facts he evidently came to the conclusion that no orders could be recognised which had not been conferred according to the "old form"; for in his delegation of extraordinary faculties to the bishops he expressly limits such recognition to those cases in which "*the form and intention of the Church had been preserved.*" Ferrar is a case in point. He had been consecrated not altogether "after the old form," and when he was degraded before his execution his episcopal character was ignored. He had previously been deprived. (4) It speaks of those who exercised orders "*which they had never received.*" The brief also speaks of bishops "on whom the gift of consecration has been heretofore conferred," and also of "those upon whom it is not conferred." Who were these latter? The action of the English bishops in dealing with Taylor and others who had been put aside on account of the *nullity* of consecration leaves no doubt that it referred to those who had been ordered according to the new "sort and fashion" of orders, and the same is made clear by the action of Cardinal Pole in the case of Hooper, who had been consecrated bishop by the "new form." Before his execution he was degraded only from the priesthood, his episcopal character being treated as *null*, whereas in the case of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer they were degraded from the episcopate, as they had been consecrated by the "old form." Of the commission granted to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury for reconciling the clergy and laity of that province Collier says :

This instrument extends to the absolving of all persons who repent their miscarriages and desire to be restored from all heresies, schisms, apostacies, from all excommunications, suspensions and other ecclesiastical censures; and more particularly the clergy, who had received orders from any schismatical and heretical bishop, officiated in virtue of that character, and complied with any unallowed ceremonies and forms of prayer are absolved, provided the *form and intention* of the Church had not been omitted in their ordination.\*

The insertion of this proviso in all delegations of faculties expressly limits all reconciliations and rehabilitations to cases where the form in the old English Pontificals had been used, and excludes those cases where the new Anglican Ordinal, in which the *form and intention* of the Church were omitted, was used.

When Pole landed in England, as has been already said, all those who had been consecrated bishops during the schism under Edward VI. had been deprived of their sees: Taylor, Hooper, Ferrar, and Harley expressly on account of *nullity of consecration*. He was not therefore called upon to exercise in their regard his extraordinary faculties to deal with bishops "on whom it (the gift of consecration) is not conferred." The brief divides those holding episcopal offices in England into (1) those who had received the gift of consecration, and (2) those who had not. As there was no bishop in England who had not been consecrated either by the old Pontifical or the Ordinal of Edward VI. it is clear from the action of Pole and the other English bishops in their dealing with Taylor, Hooper, Ferrar, and Harley that the clause "those upon whom it (the gift of consecration) is not conferred" was understood to describe those who had received Anglican episcopal orders. The same fact comes out in Bonner's action in the case of Scory, who had been intruded into the see of Bishop Day of Chichester, on the strength of his Anglican episcopal orders. Upon his repentance and submission to the Church he received a certificate from Bonner allowing him to say mass and act as a priest in the diocese of London. Burnet tells us that Scory "came before Bonner and renounced his wife and did penance for it, and had his absolution under his seal the 14th day of July this year," A.D. 1554, and he intitles the certificate "Bonner's certificate that Bishop Scory had put away his wife." \* Moreover, Bonner says expressly that he restores Scory "*quatenus de jure possimus*." Bonner knew very well that *de jure* he could only deal with Scory as a priest. An ordinary bishop has no jurisdiction in the case of fellow-bishops except in virtue of special faculties. Such cases are reserved to the Primate. Now, had Bonner received any special faculties to deal with episcopal cases? Certainly not. The right to deal with

---

\* Vol. v. p. 359.

bishops was expressly reserved to the Pope's legate in the faculties granted for reconciling the clergy. Bonner had been one of the commissioners who had deprived Taylor on account of the "nullity of his consecration," and Scory was exactly in the same position, and Bonner's faculties only allowed him to deal with priests in whose ordination the *form* and *intention* of the Church had not been omitted. It is true that out of courtesy he gives Scory the title of "formerly Bishop of Chichester," because legally he had a right to it, but nothing more. Ridley had been intruded into Bonner's see of London in the same way that Scory had been intruded into Day's see of Chichester, and for Bonner to have admitted that Scory was in any sense really Bishop of Chichester would have been to cast doubt upon his own right to the See of London, about the last thing Bonner was likely to do. On the other hand, the cases of Holgate, Archbishop of York, and Hodgekin, Suffragan of Bedford, who were apostate friars, and had been consecrated by the form in the old English Pontifical, were dealt with by Pole himself. He grants them certificates as Bonner did to Scory, but suspends them from exercising pontifical functions.\* Here we see the line clearly drawn between those consecrated by the "old form" and the "new form." The former are treated as bishops and dealt with by the Pope's legate. The latter are treated as simple priests, and dealt with by the bishop.

We are also in possession of clear evidence as to how the lesser Edwardine clergy were dealt with. In 1554, Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, issued the following commission to his Vicar-General :

To *remove, deprive, reform, correct* and punish those who were *intruded* into ecclesiastical benefices and married clerics, and also to deal with *married laics*, who, on *pretence and under colour of priestly orders*, had rashly and unlawfully mingled themselves in ecclesiastical rights and had obtained *de facto* parochial churches with cure of souls and ecclesiastical dignities, against the sacred sanctions of the canons and ecclesiastical rights, and to *deprive* and remove them from the said churches and dignities.†

---

\* See Dispensation from Card. Pole to John Hodgekin, of the Order of Preachers, "Regist. Exped.," vol. ii. fol. 45 b.

† Strype, "Memorials," vol. iii. part i. p. 352.

These "married laics" professed to have received orders of some kind. The term could not refer to those who had been ordained during the schism under Henry VIII., else they would have been styled "married clerics," and been allowed in their reconciliation with the Church and separation from their wives to have retained their benefices. It can therefore only refer to those who had received Anglican Orders. A clearer case still is that of George Marsh. In 1555 he was brought before the Earl of Derby and was asked :

Whether he was a priest? I said, no. Then he asked me, what had been my living. I answered I was a minister, served a cure and taught a school. Then said my lord to his council, "This is a wonderful thing. Afore he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one." I answered, *by the laws now used in this realm*, as far as I know, I am none. Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered, I received orders of the Bishop of London and Lincoln, &c.\*

Here is a case of a man who had received Anglican Orders, and states plainly that *by the laws now used in this realm* he was not a priest, but only a lay minister—*i.e.*, the "married laic" of Bourne. This, then, was the principle laid down by Pole, acting under instructions from Pope Julius III. Orders conferred by the old English Pontificals were held to be valid. Orders conferred by the Ordinal of Edward VI., otherwise known as Anglican Orders, were held to be null and void. An eminent theologian hence draws this conclusion :

The controversy seems then to have been closed when under the Catholic Queen Mary, who happily succeeded her heretical brother, anno 1553, Reginald Pole being Cardinal and acting as legate of the Holy See, all the ordinations of bishops made during the preceding reign of Edward were held to be null.†

Another important Roman tribute to the invalidity of Anglican Orders is furnished by Pope St. Pius V. Before issuing the Bull *Regnans in cælis* excommunicating Elizabeth, Pope St. Pius V. ordered a process to be drawn up when evidence was taken as to the Queen's proceedings. Amongst the points upon which evidence was taken the seventh interrogatory

---

\* Foxe, fol. vii. p. 41.

† Gazzaniga, "Prælect. Theol.," Dis. viii. c. iv. § 112. Venice, 1803.

was "whether by her authority any schismatics were constituted bishops and rectors, *not being priests.*" Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, Henry Henshaw, late Rector of Lincoln College, and Edmund Daniel, late Dean of Hereford, testify that the persons intruded into the Sees of the deprived Catholic bishops were heretics, and some of them *not priests.* Henry Morton, a priest of York, is more explicit. He deposes: "I know, moreover, that there are some bishops who are *mere laymen*, amongst whom is Lincoln" (Nicholas Bullingham). William Allot also deposes that he knows Nicholas Bullingham well and is on friendly terms with him, and "I know he is *not a priest.*" Thomas Kirton, a priest of Salisbury, deposes also that he knows Jewel, and "the public opinion is that some others were promoted and made bishops by the authority of the Queen, as it is publicly believed in these parts, who were *not priests*, as was the Bishop of Lincoln." In the declaratory sentence annexed to the process by St. Pius V. he declares that Queen Elizabeth had conferred "bishoprics, benefices, and other dignities upon schismatics and heretics who *were not clerics.*" \* Supposing, then, Bullingham and others, who are described as "not clerics," to have received Anglican Orders,† we have here a distinct avowal on the part of Rome of the invalidity of such orders.

A still more decided tribute to the invalidity of Anglican Orders on the part of Rome is to be found in the decision of the Holy Office in the case of John Clement Gordon, Anglican Bishop of Galloway. When the Right Rev. Dr. Ives, Anglican Bishop of North Carolina, came to Rome to be reconciled to the Church, 1844, this decree was produced from the Archives, as bearing upon his case. Gordon having made his submission to the Holy See and being desirous of ordination, submitted his case to the Holy Office, when the whole question of Anglican Orders was examined historically, canonically, and theologically, and the following was the decision—viz., a decree of the Pope himself, dated April 17, 1704 :

---

\* The whole process may be seen in Ladecharius, "Contin. of Baronius," vol. iii. pp. 197-210.

† There is no reason to doubt that Bullingham had received Anglican Episcopal Orders. He was consecrated Dec. 21, 1559. (See Collier, 6, p. 292.)

In the general Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition held in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, in the presence of our Most Holy Lord Clement XI., by Divine Providence Pope; and the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords the Cardinals of the Most Holy Roman Church . . . deputed by the Holy Apostolic See. . . . The aforesaid Memorial being read, our Most Holy Lord, the aforesaid Pope, having heard the sentiments of the same eminent personages, decreed that the aforesaid petitioner, John Clement Gordon, be promoted from *the commencement* to all, even the Holy Orders and the Priesthood, and that, as he had not been fortified by the Sacrament of Confirmation, he be confirmed.

And the following were the reasons given in the decree for this decision :

That they (Anglican Orders) should be pronounced valid, it would be necessary to show, not on doubtful but on certain evidence, that the true character of the Episcopate is possessed by these pretended Anglican Bishops; that they have received, by succession from the Catholic Church, a legitimate ordination and consecration; and that, in fine, the essential *form, matter, and intention* has been and is now adopted by these pseudo-bishops in their consecration. For, if any of these three things be wanting, to wit. character, legitimate consecration, form or intention, it must be admitted with all theologians that the consecration is null and void. . . . But it cannot be granted that they have received the ministry from Catholics, since *no evidence* is produced of successive ordination. Without this, there remains no other vestige of consecration with these heretics besides the ministry derived from the people or a lay prince. Moreover, supposing even that some one of them had received, by means of legitimate succession, the episcopal ordination and consecration (which, however, is by no means proved), still their Orders *must be pronounced INVALID*, through the defect of matter, form and due intention. For they use no matter, except the delivery of the Bible; no legitimate form; they have rejected the Catholic form and changed it into this—"Receive the power of preaching the word of God and of administering holy sacraments"—which *essentially* differs from the orthodox forms. Besides, what intention can be formed by those who deny that Christ or the Primitive Church instituted any unbloody sacrifice? Without a sacrifice there is *no priest*; without a priest, there is no bishop; without either there is, as St. Jerome says, no church, faith, or gospel. In fine, the *constant practice* in England has always been to treat every heretical minister returning to the bosom of the Church as a *lay person*. Hence, if he be engaged in matrimony, he continues in the same; if he be free and wishes to enter the ecclesiastical state, he is ordained like other Catholics; or if he prefer it he may marry a wife. Therefore, &c. &c.\*

---

\* *Notes and Queries*, vol. i. p. 131, 1836, where the decree is given in full.

Those who know with what care such matters are investigated at Rome will understand the importance of this decree. But what are we to think of a writer who, in the face of this decree of the Roman Pontiff, can jauntily assert, "It is well worthy of remark that the Roman Church has never publicly and authoritatively defined that Anglican Orders are invalid." \*

Mr. Hutton, in his valuable work on the "Anglican Ministry," seems to think that this decree cannot claim the character of a formal and final decision. But as he refers to Estcourt, who does not give the whole *expositio*, but only the clause of the decree deciding Gordon's particular case, he seems not to have seen the whole document. The statement of the principles upon which this particular case is decided is so strong and clear, that it is not easy to see on what ground this judgment is not to be considered formal and final. The Roman Courts would certainly not take that view of the matter, and there can be no doubt that this decree was appealed to by the Roman authorities in the case of Bishop Ives as a formal and final settlement of the whole question.

### III. WHAT ROME'S TRIBUTE TO ANGLICAN ORDERS REALLY WAS NOT.

After such public and authoritative pronouncements on the invalidity of Anglican Orders by Rome, whose motto is *semper eadem*, it might have been supposed that, having once put down her foot, any attempt to prove that she had gone back of her word, or that her voice had ever given an uncertain sound, was about as hopeless as an attempt to square the circle. After the merciless exposure which old hackneyed Anglican legends on this question have met with, after the masterly way in which they have had the life knocked out of them by careful and exact historians, such as, *e.g.*, Canon Estcourt, it was not too much to have expected that they would have been relegated for the rest of time to the limbo of exploded fables, and that their ghosts would trouble the earth no more. Alas! no. In the person of Rev. Montague R. Butler, Church defenders have found a champion equal to the occasion, who has undertaken

---

\* "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 6.

to prove to the world that Rome has never condemned Anglican Orders, but on the whole rather approves of them, and even assures the Establishment the possession of them. Modern Church defenders seem to have adopted the reprehensible principle laid down by the late Dr. Littledale. When charged with saying things that he well knew were not strictly true, he defended himself on the following grounds: "Knowing how hard it is to drive ideas into untutored minds, I have been compelled to aim primarily at *incisiveness* and to omit *all qualifications* of leading propositions which I could and would use in fuller writing for a more learned class of readers."\* In other words, for the sake of *incisiveness*, and in order to impress *untutored minds*, he admits that he tampers with truth by deliberately making misleading statements, which he would not make to tutored minds. It is only on some such ground that we can explain the appearance of such tracts as "Rome's Tribute to Anglican Orders." Here we have all the old exploded fairy tales of Anglican controversy trotted out, without a hint to the untutored mind that their truth has ever been questioned, or that they have been labelled as spurious by the best modern writers. Canon Bright has already warned Anglican Church defenders of the folly of such a policy. "Clergymen," he says, "who are interested in the literary aspects of Church defence will do well to discourage *imaginative reconstructions* of our old Church history . . . which may seem to support the anti-Papal contention, but really gives advantage to a fairly informed Roman arguer."† In spite of this warning, untutored minds have to be impressed, and so we have such works as the one under review. It is hardly possible to suppose that the writers are not fully aware how flimsy, irrelevant and historically worthless their assertions are.

If they are so, they must pay the penalty of being found out and forfeiting the public confidence they have tried to practise on. If they are not, they have no business to handle such questions at all.

The writer hopes in the sequel to be able to justify these somewhat severe strictures.

---

\* "Rejoinder," *Contemporary Review*, May 1880.

† *Church Times*, Dec. 17, 1888.

## SECTION II. ANSWERED.

Rome's alleged tribute to Anglican Orders in this section consists of three points: (1) The action of the Council of Trent; (2) the asserted summoning of Anglican bishops *as such* to the council; (3) the speech of Bishop O'Harte of Achonry. A word upon each.

(1) "As a matter of fact it is alleged that they (the Fathers at Trent) distinctly refused to pronounce the English bishops to be no bishops." \* What really happened was this. In June 1553, if Pallavicini be correct,† some Belgian theologians arrived at Trent and informed the Council of the steps taken by Elizabeth to destroy the ancient faith in England. The indignation of the Council was extreme, and it was proposed at once to issue a sentence excommunicating the Queen, and it was suggested, and the suggestion was approved of by Pope Pius IV., that, as the Fathers were engaged in discussing what constituted a legitimate bishop, a clause should be inserted "that those appointed by the Queen were not bishops." It was hoped that this sentence would induce the Catholic princes to take action. But the Emperor's ambassadors interfered, and by his advice the matter was dropped. The reason given for not proceeding with the matter was that such a step would only exasperate the Queen "against the few bishops who remained in England." It is not easy to see what tribute to their Orders Anglicans can extract from this incident, even if it is correctly given by Pallavicini. The Pope and the assembled bishops were of opinion that a sentence should issue declaring that Anglican prelates were not bishops. They were persuaded to shelve the matter, not by reason of any difference of opinion in the Council, but purely on grounds of political expediency, lest it might cause the death of those few bishops who remained in England. There were still seven of the old hierarchy living. These are the only ones recognised by the Council as being bishops. The very existence of bishops of the Queen's making is ignored, and the Council was prepared,

---

\* "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 6.

† "History of the Council of Trent" (Latin version), xxi. ch. vii. p. 3.

if left to itself, to declare that these prelates were "not bishops." A truly striking tribute to Anglican Orders!

There is, however, some doubt as to the accuracy of Pallavicini's statement. The late Canon Estcourt, who carefully examined all the documentary evidence, writes :

When I was in Rome in 1856 I had leave from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to look through Pallavicini's collections, and I found the papers he refers to on this point. There is a proposal which seems to have come from the English exiles, and another paper marked "B," the source of which is left in the dark. Both these papers propose to excommunicate and deprive the Queen, but there is not a word in either of them referring to the Anglican bishops. The question was referred to the Pope, and there is a letter from St. Charles Borromeo conveying the Pope's approval of its being done. But the Emperor's ambassadors had written to him, and he at once interfered and stopped it, and especially on the ground that the excommunication of the Queen would lead to harsher measures against the Catholic bishops in England, perhaps to their being put to death. There is their letter to him and his reply. I have copies of all these papers. I cannot account for Pallavicini's statement about the Anglican bishops, and believe it to be an error. I cannot find anything to support it in Paleotti's Acts of the Council, nor in those lately published by Theiner.\*

Mr. Butler tells us further : " He (the Pope) had invited the English prelates *as bishops* to join in the deliberations of the Council." No authority can be produced for this assertion that Anglican prelates were offered a seat or a vote in the Council.

This assertion is a pure invention. English prelates were not invited to the Council *as bishops*, or as anything else. No communication took place between the Pope and the English prelates. Their very existence as real bishops was ignored by the Pope and the Council. Collier tells us that what really happened was this :

The said Pope Pius IV. renewed his attempt to gain the Queen, and gave her an invitation, with other Protestant princes, to the Council of Trent, and despatched Abbot Martinengo towards England with letters of a very smooth content. Amongst other matters, he acquainted her that, if she would please to send either bishops or ambassadors to the Council, he did not question giving them such satisfaction as might open the way for further accommodation.†

---

\* Hutton's "Anglican Ministry," p. 133.

† Collier, vol. vi. p. 330.

If English prelates had gone to the Council, they would have gone, not as Catholic bishops, but as envoys of a Protestant sovereign, and would have been treated as the envoys of other Protestant princes. It was the practice to invite such persons to appear *before* the Council, in order that they might be able to make any representation on behalf of their prince that he might wish to lay before the assembled bishops; but they were not allowed a seat or a vote in the Council. Besides, if English prelates had been invited, as bishops, they would have received a formal summons, the same as other Catholic bishops, and this they most certainly never received.

We are further assured that (3) Bishop O'Harte, of Achonry, asserted that the Elizabethan prelates "*show that they were called, elected, consecrated, and given mission.*"\* Now, a reference to what this Bishop really said will show that he pointedly avoids all reference to Elizabethan prelates. He is speaking on the question of jurisdiction, not of Orders, and his words are :

Thus in England the *King* calls himself head of the Church, and creates bishops, who are consecrated by three bishops, and say they are true bishops as being from God. But we deny this, because they have not been acknowledged by the Roman Pontiff, and we are right in saying this, and by this one argument and no other we convict them; for (apart from this) they themselves show that they have been called, elected, consecrated, sent. †

How can these words be twisted into a tribute to Anglican Orders? O'Harte is speaking exclusively of Henry VIII.'s bishops, who had been consecrated before the Anglican Ordinal had been invented, and whose lawful jurisdiction only was in question, but whose valid Orders were not questioned by any one. He pointedly avoids the whole question of the position of the Queen's prelates. No Anglican consecration took place in Ireland till 1563, a year after O'Harte's speech in the Council; he had therefore had no personal experience of the mode of conferring them.

Besides, Bishop O'Harte could not have been ignorant of how any departure from the form of consecration in the old Pontificals was dealt with, in the case of Bishop Casey, the only

---

\* "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 7.

† Le Plat, "Monum. ad Hist. Conc. Trident," tom. v. p. 578.

instance that had occurred of an Edwardine prelate in Ireland. He belonged to the diocese of Cashel, but went up to Dublin to be consecrated by the reformers—Browne, Archbishop of Dublin; Thos. Lancaster of Kildare, who does not appear to have been consecrated himself till A.D. 1568; and others. The consecration took place October 25, 1551. The Ordinal of Edward VI. had not then been legalised, and he appears to have been consecrated, like Ferrar, not altogether after the old form. About A.D. 1556 he made his submission before David Wolfe, the Apostolic Commissary, and was reconciled to the Church as a priest, his episcopal character being treated as null. The following are the terms of his submission :

I, William Cahessy, *priest*, sometime bishop of the diocese of Kildare, yet nothing canonically consecrated, but by the schismatical authority of Edward, King of England, schismatically preferred to the bishopric of Limerick aforesaid, wherein I confess to have offended my Creator, &c. &c.\*

There is not the most remote reference in O'Harte's speech to Elizabethan prelates. No such prelates had any existence in Ireland at the time. The only real Edwardine prelate that had appeared on the scene had been turned out of his see and reduced to the position of a simple priest. The King's (Henry VIII.'s) bishops were the only ones in Ireland whom the Irish bishops had to deal with, and O'Harte informs the Council of the view taken in Ireland of their position. In the whole of this section, therefore, there is not a single fact which can be twisted by the most perverse ingenuity into a tribute to Anglican Orders.

#### SECTIONS III. AND IV. ANSWERED.

Here we have Cardinal Newman censured for his repudiation of Anglican Orders, on the ground that he ignores the fact "that they were *in some sense* acquiesced in by the wit of Popes Julius III., Paul IV., Pius IV., Pius V., Urban VIII., and Innocent XII."† This is a formidable statement if it could only be substantiated. Let us see what truth there is in it. Cardinal Pole served Anglican prelates much as Queen

\* "The Episcopal Succession," vol. iii. p. 27. Maziere Brady.

† "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 8.

Elizabeth served them when she ordered them "to be packing; she was no atheist, but she knew full well that they were only *hedge priests*." \* No Anglican prelate was allowed by Pole to hold any English see. As we have seen, they were one and all sent about their business before his arrival in England, with his knowledge and approval. Julius III. confirmed what had been done, and this constitutes his tribute to Anglican Orders. But, at all events, Mr. Butler goes on :

Dr. Saunders testifies that the Anglican Episcopal Orders, which were officially recognised and confirmed under Papal authority by Cardinal Pole, received additional recognition from another occupant of the Holy See, and were established and confirmed afterwards by the letters of Pope Paul IV.†

For this quotation we are referred to book ii., no chapter or page being given. Nothing of the kind can be found in Saunders. This passage is only a spurious addition of some unknown editor of a later edition, and the term Anglican Episcopal Orders is dragged in quite gratuitously by Mr. Butler. It is not in the text.

When Mary ascended the throne the following Anglican prelates, who had been consecrated by the Anglican ordination service under Edward VI., held office on the strength of their Anglican Episcopal Orders: Harley held Hereford; Taylor, Lincoln; Hooper, Gloucester; Ferrar, St. David's; Scory, Chichester; and Poynt, Winchester. All these were deprived of their sees—Taylor, Hooper, Harley, and Ferrar by Royal Commission and expressly on account of *nullity* of consecration. The sentence upon Taylor records that fact, and in the cases of Harley and Hooper the sentence on Taylor is referred to as holding good as regards them—*ut supra*, it says—and in the case of Ferrar, *propter causas supradictas*. Scory had to make way for the lawful bishop Day, Poynt for Gardiner, and Coverdale for Voysey. Not only so, but these sees were filled up with real Catholic bishops consecrated according to the "old form." Hereford was given to Wharton, Lincoln to White, Gloucester to Brookes, St. David's to Morgan, Chichester to Day, Winchester to Gardiner, and Exeter to Voysey.‡

\* Dodd, vol. iii. p. 73.

† "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 10.

‡ Pallavicini, ii. p. 420, 421. *Ex Act. Consist.*, July 6, 1554.

Now, Mr. Butler's thesis is that the Anglican Episcopal Orders of these seven deprived prelates, made in Edward VI.'s time, were officially recognised and confirmed under Papal authority by Cardinal Pole, and that he restored and confirmed them in their sees. A more grossly misleading and historically false statement could not be penned. Every schoolboy is supposed to know, for instance, that Hooper and Ferrar, so far from being recognised as bishops and restored to their sees, were burnt as obstinate heretics, and before their execution were degraded only from the priesthood, their Anglican Episcopal Orders being officially unrecognised. A writer who has made special study of this period remarks: "There is not a solitary instance of an Edwardine bishop, consecrated after the Protestant ritual, having been rehabilitated by Cardinal Pole or admitted to the possession of an English bishopric in Queen Mary's reign."\* A clean sweep was made of all Edwardine prelates consecrated by the Edwardine Ordinal, and their places filled by real Catholic bishops. Popes Julius III. and Paul IV. confirmed the action of Pole and the English Catholic bishops in thus depriving and expelling from their sees all those in Anglican Orders, and replacing them by real Catholic bishops. The writer of "Rome's Tribute" may gather what consolation he can from these facts, but he has no right to attempt to alter the plain facts of English history to suit his own purpose. His failure to distinguish between the recognition extended to those in whose consecration the *form and intention* of the Church had not been omitted and the recognition refused to those in whose consecration they had been omitted is inexplicable on any ground that does not postulate either incompetence or dishonesty in the writer.

Those who desire to see the Anglican legend about Paul IV., Pius IV., and Pius V. neatly dissected and turned inside out are referred to Canon Estcourt's learned work, "Anglican Ordinations" (ch. viii.) The Anglican result is obtained by the common device of doubling and making one Pope do duty for three. Pius IV. is said to have offered to recognise the Anglican "Booke of Divine Service." This Pope has been confused with Pius V. by some, with Paul IV. by others, with the result that we have three Popes credited with the action of one. This

---

\* "English Cath. Hierarchy," p. 25. Maziere Brady.

ingenious fable seems to have originated in this way. Judge Coke is reported to have said, in a charge delivered at Norwich Assizes, August 4, 1606, that Pius V. in a letter offered to allow the "Booke of Divine Service, as it now is used amongst us, to be authentic and not repugnant to truth." This charge has ever since been part of the stock-in-trade of Anglican controversialists, and is being quoted continually as quite decisive by the *Church Times* and other Church defenders. A reference to Coke's "Preface to the seventh part of his Law Reports" will show that he cannot find words in which to express his indignation that such a manifest forgery should be fathered upon him. He says he never wrote a word of it, calls the production shameful and shameless, and styles the author a falsary.\* The fact that Pius V. is named instead of Pius IV. would of itself stamp this charge as spurious.

Bishop Andrewes of Chester says the offer was made by Paul IV. But Camden, who, owing to his relations with Cecil, was most likely to have known the truth, corrects them both, and says the offer, as "report goeth," was made by Pius IV., but not in a letter. "What matters," he says, "Papaglia propounded I find not, for I do not think his instructions were put into writing, and to rove at them with the common sort of historians I list not."† Fuller gives the same account as Camden, but adds that the report proceeds from "some (not more knowing of councils, but more daring in conjectures than others) who love to feign what they cannot find, that they may never appear to be at a loss."‡ Parsons the Jesuit, who was sure to have been correctly informed, writes:

Wherefore that which hath bene given out (as is said by some great men) that the Pope, by his letter to her Majestie, did offer to confirme the service of England uppon condition that the title of supremacie might be restored him againe, is impossible to be soe, soe that, if any such letter came to hir Majestie's handes, they must needs be fayned and false.§

And he labels the story in the margin, "A notable device."

\* Coke's "Reports." Wilson, vol. iv. Preface vii. p. 5.

† "Annals," p. 34.

‡ "Church History," iv. p. 309.

§ "Brief Discourse," &c., Douay, 1580, p. 39.

The whole of this Anglican legend turns out to be a mere canard used by politicians to jockey unwary Catholics into conformity. Pius V. has left on record Rome's opinion about the Anglican movement in his time; for in the Bull *Regnans in cœlis*, in which he excommunicates Elizabeth, he gives amongst his reasons for doing so the following: She had replaced the Catholic clergy by "shameless preachers and ministers of impiety," had "abolished the sacrifice of the mass, and had imposed upon her whole kingdom books containing manifest heresy," and he calls the Anglican Communion Service "a profane mystery in accordance with the system of Calvin." It was not likely that with such views about the Anglican Prayer-book Rome was at any time disposed to approve of it. The attempt to convert this alleged offer of Pius IV. to recognise the Prayer-book into an offer to recognise Anglican Orders, is only one of the tricks of modern controversy. The Anglican Ordinal was not at the time incorporated with the Prayer-book, but was a separate work, in the same way that the Missal and the Pontifical had been up to that time kept distinct. Even the original authors of this gossamer gossip say nothing about any offer to recognise Anglican Orders. That is a modern addition to the original legend. Neither Paul IV. nor Pius V. had anything whatever to do with such an offer. Camden shows that the attempt to connect them with the matter was the result of a mere blunder arising from a confusion of names. The only shred of evidence we have attributes the offer to Pius IV., and this on the strength of a report that his Nuncio Papaglia is said to have had private instructions, but what they were Camden confesses no one knows, or in fact whether he had any instructions at all or not. There is no documentary evidence on the point, and Fuller says the report was a mere invention of some who loved to feign what they could not find, so as not to appear to be at a loss.\*

Urban VIII. next comes on the scene, and we are told that

---

\* In a review of the "Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas," vol. i. Elizabeth, 1558-1567, edited by Martin A. S. Hume, the writer says of Pius V.: "Elizabeth at least was well aware that the Pope had no intention of accepting her bishops or of authorising the Prayer-book of 1559" (*Guardian*, Aug. 30, 1893, p. 1356).

he "admitted the authority of that prelate (Laud), is shown by the fact that the Papal offer of the Cardinal's hat was twice made to Laud." \* Needless to say that no evidence of any such offer on the part of the Holy See is adduced. Nor does Laud say that any such offer came from the Pope. It probably is true that the Queen Henrietta Maria, thinking to conciliate Laud's forbearance in favour of her persecuted fellow-Catholics, by showing him this mark of her goodwill, and hoping that, if she succeeded, it might lead to the conversion of the King, offered to ask for this honour to be bestowed upon him, trusting that she had sufficient influence at Rome to induce the Pope to do this for her sake. The failure of her application, and the tortuous way in which the negotiation had to be carried on, proves that Rome had no hand in the matter. The Queen's envoy was instructed to apply for a Cardinal's hat for an English subject, but not to reveal the name of the person for whom this distinction was intended until his request was granted. Young, inexperienced, and a foreigner, the Queen did not seem to realise how preposterous the proposal would sound to the Holy See to bestow a Cardinal's hat upon one who was notoriously an excommunicated schismatic and heretic, and who, moreover, stood exactly on the same ground as those Anglican prelates who in Mary's time had been removed on account of *nullity* of consecration. As Lingard has been quoted, here is what he really says :

Towards the end of August 1633, Sir Robert Douglas arrived in Rome with the character of envoy from the Queen, and a letter of credence signed by the Earl of Stirling, Secretary of State for Scotland. It was soon discovered that the real object of his mission was to obtain, through her intercession, the dignity of a Cardinal for a British subject, under the pretext that such a concession would go far towards the future conversion of the King. Urban, suspicious of some political intrigue, resolved to return no answer till he should have ascertained from whom this *unexpected* project had originated, in whose favour the hat was solicited, and with that view he deemed it expedient to despatch an envoy from Rome who might communicate personally with the Queen.†

Leander, a Benedictine monk, was first sent, and he was followed by Panzani, an Oratorian, who was instructed "on

---

\* "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 12.

† "History of England," vol. ix. p. 313.

no pretext whatever to allow himself to be drawn into communication with the new Archbishop of Canterbury."\* This project was evidently sprung upon Rome by the English Court, and this papal offer turns out to have been a *papal refusal*. The only offer made to Laud was made later, and as it shows in what bad odour he was in Rome, and how Rome was disposed to deal with him, and as it will help the reader to form his opinion, it is as well to insert it:

We find Rosetti inquiring of Cardinal Barberini whether, if Laud should escape from the Tower the Pope would afford him an asylum and pension in Rome. He would be content with 1000 crowns. Barberini answered that Laud was in such *bad repute* in Rome, being looked upon as the cause of all the troubles in England, that it would previously be necessary that he should give *good proof* of his *repentance*, in which case he should receive assistance, though such assistance would give colour to the imputation that there had always been an understanding between him and Rome.†

From this it is clear that the Holy See had not had any negotiations with Laud, and that he was about as likely to have had the offer of a Cardinal's hat as Oliver Cromwell.

Once more we are told that Pope Innocent XII. solemnly defined that King James II. was bound to maintain the succession in the Church of England, and hence the inference. "Had His Holiness held the English episcopate and priesthood to be invalid or sacrilegious, this judgment would of course have been impossible."‡ Now, what are the real facts of the case? Sancroft, the nonjuring ex-Archbishop of Canterbury, asked James II., whom he still regarded as the lawful head of his Church, though a Roman Catholic, to sanction the consecration of two nonjuring bishops by way of continuing the nonjuring succession. This act would be one of hostility to the Established Church over which now William and Mary were supreme. James consulted the Archbishop of Paris and Bossuet. They answered that he was "under no obligation to act against the Established Church." James also consulted Pope Innocent XII., who is said to have answered "to the same effect." So far from defining that James was bound to

---

\* "History of England," vol. ix. p. 314.

† *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 139, note.

‡ "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 13.

maintain and defend the Anglican succession, the Pope answered that he, in this case, was not bound to interfere in the matter. Only one more unhistorical assertion remains to be noticed. It is this: "That in the Visitation of 1559, although there were 10,000 clergy, only the small number of 180 refused to accept the reformed offices."\* Fortunately, we have amongst the State papers the return made by the visitors, who are only able to return the small number of 806 conformists for the whole of England. Green, in his "History of the English People," gives the following account of this Visitation:

Only the higher dignitaries were unsparingly dealt with. The bishops who, with a single exception, refused to take the oath, were imprisoned and deprived. The same measure was dealt out to most of the archdeacons and deans. But with the mass of the parish priests a very different course was taken. . . . The great bulk of the clergy seemed neither to have refused or to have consented to take the oath, but to have left the commissioners' summons unheeded, and to have stayed quietly at home. Of the 9400 beneficed clergy, *only a tenth* presented themselves before the commissioners. Of those who attended and refused the oath 189 were deprived, but many of the most prominent went unharmed.†

Thus considerably more than nine-tenths of the clergy refused to conform on this Visitation of 1559. This testimony is all the more striking because Green, in his earlier work, "Short History," trusting no doubt to Camden and others, repeats the usual Anglican story, but on consulting independent evidence felt bound to correct his mistake in his later work.

The Rev. N. Pocock, who is by far the best authority the High Church party possesses in the history of this period, wrote three letters in the *Guardian*—November 9, November 23, and November 30, 1892—which are worthy of being preserved. In one of them he deals with this point as follows:

What is commonly affirmed that all the clergy conformed to the new order, with the exception of about two hundred, cannot possibly be true. The number nearly represents the number of bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons of cathedrals, heads of houses, and fellows of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, who are known to have refused to adopt the new service of the Prayer-book, which, it must not be forgotten, was materially different from that which is in use now. And the great number of

---

\* "Romes Tribute," &c., p. 11.

† Vol. ii. p. 305

ordinations which took place in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and the number of priests and deacons ordained from time to time, prove that there must have been a large number of vacancies in the parsonages of the country. It is impossible that the number should have been so small as 192, as thirty-four years later, in the year 1602, the number of Roman priests, who were living peaceably and giving no trouble to the authorities, is spoken of as being considerable. The survivors of persons who were priests in 1558 could have been counted on the fingers in 1602, if there had been, as has been alleged, only 192 at the earlier date. Moreover, we know that in many dioceses a large proportion of the parishes were not served at all. Again, in the first year of Grindal's episcopate, many of the clergy had obtained licence to live beyond the seas, upon what was called misliking of religion, and their places were partially filled by thirty different ordinations which he held, at which he admitted 160 deacons and nearly as many priests to holy orders, a much larger number than can be accounted for by the deaths of incumbents or curates. Archbishop Parker, too, held five ordinations at Lambeth in less than three months after his consecration, at the last of which alone there were 155 priests and deacons ordained. The same conclusion comes out from the information given, January 24, 1561, by the Bishop of Ely—viz., that of the 132 churches in his diocese only thirty-two were properly served, there being thirty-four that had neither rectors nor vicars. It appears, also, that in the diocese of Norwich about half of the eight or nine hundred parishes had no rector or vicar, though the want was in some places supplied by a curate. And in the year 1565, so great was the destitution that the returns from about half the dioceses show that nearly a thousand parishes were wholly without spiritual superintendence. In the diocese of London there were about one hundred vacancies, whereas in two Welsh dioceses there were none. . . . About the same time, Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, says, of his 1200 churches, 430 were vacant. If this is not sufficient to prove that the clergy did not all conform, what is the meaning of Jewel's observation in his letter to Peter Martyr, August 1, 1559?

"Now that religion is everywhere changed, the Mass priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were the greatest impiety to have anything in common with the people of God ("Zurich Letters," i. p. 39).

Now this is a piece of scholarly work in pleasing contrast to the slipshod and careless assertions of modern Church defenders. The weary task of following and exposing this compiler of exploded historical fables is finished. The result of the critical inquiry proves that not one of his statements is from an historical point of view worth the paper on which it is written. The formidable list of Papal tributes to Anglican Orders, when looked into, falls to pieces like a house of cards.

V. SECTIONS IV. V., ETC., ANSWERED.—WITNESSES CROSS-EXAMINED.

In these sections we have a crowd of witnesses produced to testify in favour of Anglican Orders, without any regard to the relevancy of their testimony. Some to testify to the fact that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth, a fact which is not now denied. Some to testify that if the succession can be proved, Anglican Orders ought to be recognised, and other points which are neither here nor there. Rome is only answerable for what she does herself. She certainly is not answerable for the private opinions of schismatics or heretics such as De Dominis, Du Pin, Courayer, Foulkes, and Döllinger ; especially so in the case of a man like Courayer, whose opinions on Anglican Orders were condemned not only by the Archbishop of Paris and the Sorbonne, but by the Pope himself. To quote the opinions of such witnesses as forming part of Rome's tribute to the Anglican Orders is like quoting Arius as a Catholic witness against the divinity of Christ, or Satan as an angelic witness against the sovereignty of God. Such evidence must be ruled out of court by every fair-minded man. Nor is Rome answerable for the private opinions of individual Catholics, especially if they are not experts in theology, have no special knowledge of facts, and who multiply words without knowledge, which are tantamount to charging Rome with sacrilege every time she ordains a converted Anglican clergyman unconditionally, as is her invariable practice.

Nor is it much use quoting the words of foreigners, until it can be shown that they were in full possession of all the facts of the case. If their knowledge of the simplest facts of English history was derived from such works as "*Rome's Tribute*," which only copies from the works they were most like to have access to on the subject, it is no wonder if they believe in Anglican Orders. Some of the chief witnesses will now be cross-examined as to what they have to say on the question. It will not be necessary to do more than cross-examine some of the leading witnesses produced. In fact, it would be difficult to do more, for these opinions are as a rule borrowed wholesale from Harrington and Lee. No references to the original works

quoted from is given, and it is clear the author has not himself consulted original sources.

Bishop Bonner is called as a witness, who, we are informed on the authority of Lingard, with a slipshod reference to *Birmingham Magazine* (vol. v. 1834), said that the consecration of Parker had been performed "by bishops who had been restored after their deposition," of course by Pole, else the statement would mean nothing. This assertion is entirely false. Barlow, Coverdale, Scory and Hodgekin were not restored by Pole, as Bonner well knew. Scory was reduced by Bonner to the position of a priest. Hodgekin was suspended by Pole from episcopal functions, as may be seen in his dispensation; Barlow and Coverdale fled the country. It is needless to say that Lingard never said of Bonner what he knew as an historian was not historically true. A reference to Lingard's letter will show that Mr. Butler has done a very clumsy thing indeed. He has suppressed the very important word *not*. Lingard says that Bonner objected to the legality of Parker's consecration, because it had been performed by "bishops who had *not* been restored after their deposition," and who therefore were not provincial bishops as required by the laws of the Church and statutes and ordinances of the realm. The whole question in dispute between Bonner and Horne turned upon this very point. Bonner challenged the legal *status* of the whole Anglican hierarchy on the ground that those who acted as Parker's consecrators had been deposed and had not been restored; and as consequently they held no office in the Church of England, they had no more right to make an Archbishop of Canterbury than to make an archangel.\* What can be said of a writer who manufactures evidence to impress the untutored mind in this fashion? If he is not a mere compiler, whose gross ignorance of the historical facts he undertakes to deal with affords some poor excuse for such egregious blundering, the only alternative is to charge him with attempting a deliberate fraud upon ignorant Anglicans, a charge which one is naturally unwilling to prefer

---

\* The "Lambeth Register" is of itself conclusive evidence that none of these men had been restored to their Sees. Barlow is there described as "formerly bishop of Bath, now *elect* of Chichester;" Scory as "formerly bishop of Chichester, now *elect* of Hereford;" Coverdale as "formerly bishop of Exeter;" and Hodgekin as "*suffragan* of Bedford."

against a clergyman of the Church of England. But when a writer makes a misstatement to serve his purpose, with the evidence before his eyes that he is doing so, what other conclusion can be come to?

St. Alphonsus Liguori is produced as having spoken of "prelates occupying sees by virtue of orders conferred in Edward VI.'s reign as Catholic bishops," and in proof of this are quoted the following words: "*Pole confirmed in their sees the Catholic bishops, though installed in the time of schism.*" This extract merely states that well-known historical fact that Pole confirmed in their sees the Catholic bishops installed at the time of Henry VIII. before the Edwardine Ordinal was used. It is an equally well-known fact that Pole would not allow any prelate "by virtue of orders conferred in Edward VI.'s reign" to hold episcopal office in England. St. Alphonsus does not call such men Catholic bishops. This is a mere fiction on the part of the author of "Rome's Tribute." Such men were known, not as Catholic bishops, but as "Protestant superintendents."

The Bishop had exercised so much dominion and rigour, and been such Papalins, that the very name of bishop grew odious amongst the people, and the word "superintendent" began to be affected, and the rather, perhaps, being a word used in the Protestant churches of Germany, This the Papists made sport with.\*

St. Liguori knew enough English history to know that such men were not, and were not called, Catholic bishops. They themselves repudiated the term Catholic as well as the term bishop.

Bishop John Milner, D.D., F.S.A., is quoted as another believer in Anglican Orders. In his great work, "End of Controversy," Letter xxxii., under the heading, "*Uncertainty of the Orders of the Established Church from the Doctrines of its Founders, from the History of the Times, from the Defectiveness of the Form,*" he discusses the whole question, and referring to the change made in the Ordinal in 1662, he says:

But admitting that these alterations were sufficient to obviate all the objections of our divines to the Ordinal, *which they are not,* they came about one hundred years too late for their intended purpose; so

---

\* Strype, "Memorials," ii. 141.

that if the priests and bishops of Edward's and Elizabeth's reigns were invalidly ordained and consecrated, so must those of Charles the Second's reign and their successors have been also.

Later on he adds: "Hence it clearly appears that there can be no *apostolic* succession of ministry in the Established Church, more than in the other congregations or societies of Protestants." A plain tribute to Anglican Orders.

Bishop Baines, D.D., O.S.B., is cited by Dr. Lee as a well-known believer in Anglican Orders. In the fourth Lecture on the "Outlines of Christianity," Bishop Baines thus speaks his mind:

There is not an apostolical Church in the world which will hold communion with the Church of England. The Greek schismatical Church spurns her; the Nestorian and Eutychian sects abhor her. In vain, then, does she boast her apostolical descent. Even if she prove it, which she cannot, the consecration of her first bishop being generally considered invalid, it would avail her nothing.

Rev. Nicholas Sanders, D.D., freely admits, we are told, that Anglican Orders were *confirmed* by Pole. We have seen what Pole really did with Anglican Orders. Sanders's editor records that Pole "confirmed all bishops which had been made in the former schism, *provided they were Catholic in their judgment of religion.*" That is just the point. The Edwardine prelates were *not* "Catholic in their judgment of religion," and were not confirmed, but expelled from their sees for that reason. Sanders called such men "mock prelates."\*

Very Rev. Christopher Davenport, D.D. (Fr. Francis of St. Clare), is produced as an undoubted believer in Anglican Orders. In his "Enchiridion of Faith" he thus delivers his final judgment:

Since they have changed the Church's forms *de industria* to declare that they do not what the Church intends . . . and having solemnly decreed against the power of sacrificing and consecrating, . . . as appears in the 28th and 31st Articles, it evidently concludes that they never did or could *validly* ordain priests, and consequently bishops.†

And much more to the same effect. Speaking of Dr. Goffe, he says he "was re-ordained as all others have been." This disposes of the assertion that some were allowed to act as priests without being ordained.

---

\* "Anglican Schism," p. 291. Lewis's translation.

† See Estcourt's "Ordinations," p. 235.

Rev. Serenus Cressy, O.S.B., is said never to have been re-ordained, although Davenport's statement implies that he was. In the Clarendon Papers quoted by Lee (p. 251), occurs the passage, "Must I believe Hugh Cressy's resolve peremptory?" asks Lord Clarendon of Dr. Eccles. "Is it a necessary consequence to his conscience that if a man turn to that Church he must take orders in it? . . . . If we cannot keep him a minister in our Church, I wish he would continue a layman in theirs." Here we have it stated that Cressy's view was that an Anglican minister was only a layman in the Catholic Church, and that his resolve was peremptory to take orders in the Roman Church.

Very Rev. T. H. Canon Estcourt, another witness, has written an elaborate work to prove that Anglican Orders were not valid. He writes: "In view of all these circumstances, the inevitable conclusion follows, that Anglican ordinations must be considered as *altogether invalid*, and that there is neither bishop, priest, nor deacon in the Anglican Communion."\*

Rev. John Lingard, D.D., another witness adduced by the Anglican writer, thus delivers himself upon the value of the Anglican form of ordination: "It bore no immediate connection with the episcopal character. It designated none of the peculiar duties incumbent on a bishop. It was as *fit a form for the ordination of a parish clerk as for the spiritual ruler of a diocese*."†

Readers by this time will be disposed to cry, Hold, enough! We have heard enough to show us how this trumped-up evidence breaks down under cross-examination.

The other cases of alleged recognition of Anglican Orders on the part of Roman Catholic writers of standing have been so completely disposed of by Canon Estcourt, Canon Raynal, Mr. Hutton, and Fr. Sydney Smith, in the *Month*, October 1893, that it must suffice to refer the reader to their works for further information. The introduction of a spurious speech of Bishop Strossmayer is specially without excuse. This distinguished bishop has over and over again denounced this clumsy forgery in the public press as a base and calumnious falsehood, and the author of "Rome's Tribute" ought to have known the fact.

---

\* "Anglican Ordinations," p. 373.

† "History of England," vol. vi. note D.D., p. 330.

But supposing Anglican writers succeed in getting rid of the historical difficulties with which their position is surrounded, it may be asked *cui bono*?

There still remain the moral difficulties arising out of the visible facts which cannot be denied. "An increased sense among the Anglican clergy of their true position and responsibilities"\* has led to spiritual action. This increased sense of their true position, as having valid Orders, is not "to the manner born." It is an excrescence and a new departure, which is resented by the old school as an undoing of the Reformation.† Priesthood, sacrifice, and a real presence are to them the rags and tatters of an exploded superstition, and on such principles has the Anglican system been worked for ages. If there were really valid Orders in this system, how came its professors to know nothing about such an important fact? Valid Orders imply valid baptism and a valid Eucharist. Could there be a valid Eucharist when we have no certain rule as to a valid baptism? And, if there is a valid Eucharist, how comes it that there has been no general recognition of the possession of such a gift, or any protective rite to save it from desecration?

If there is a true succession, there is a true Eucharist; if there is not a true Eucharist, there is no true succession. Now, what is the presumption here? . . . . If so great a gift be given, it must have a rite. . . . If it has a rite, it must have a *custos* of that rite. Who is the *custos* of the Anglican Eucharist? The Anglican clergy? Could I, without distressing an Anglican, describe what sort of *custodes* they have been and are to their Eucharist? *O bone custos*, in the words of the poet, *cui commendavi, Filium meum!* Is it not charitable towards the bulk of the Anglican clergy to believe that so great a treasure has not been given to their keeping? And would our Lord have left Himself for centuries in such hands? Inasmuch, then, as the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Anglican Communion is without protective ritual and jealous guardianship, there seems to me a strong presumption that neither the real gift nor its appointed guardians are to be found in that Communion.‡

Is it not rather to be hoped that God withdrew the gift when the faith in it was lost, and so saved this country

\* "Rome's Tribute," &c., p. 1.

† See Canon Farrar's article in the *Contemporary*, July 1893.

‡ Newman, *The Month*, Sept. 1868, p. 270.

the sacrilege, profanation, and impiety which would follow from this unbelief? Can any right-minded or pious man, when he reads how generations of ministers celebrated "the Supper," believe without a shudder that they were really consecrating the Body and Blood of Christ without knowing or intending what they were doing? Try to realise the scene of the "Supper" as described by a pious Anglican: "The Communion trestles were spread with a table-cloth, loaves and wine were supplied in abundance, and in some cases profusely; platters or trenchers were placed round the table, a sop of bread and wine made, was partaken of with spoons, &c."\* Heylin also says: "The new Church is constrained to suffer cobblers, weavers, tinkers, tanners, card-makers, iapsters, fiddlers, gaolers, and others of like profession, not only to enter into disputing with her, but also to climb up into pulpits and to keep the place of priests and ministers;" and that "the residue of the sacrament (in loaf bread) was taken of the priest or of the parish clerk, to spread their young children's butter thereupon, or to serve their own tooth with it at their homely table."† Surely it is more respectful to the Establishment to hope that she has been spared the guilt of a series of horrible sacrileges enough to have caused another deluge.

---

\* Lee's "Church under Elizabeth," vol. ii. p. 202. Parish accounts, Thame, Oxon. Documents from Simancas, Introd. pp. 17, 18.

† "Affairs of Church," &c., p. 174, &c.

### ART. III.—TEMPERANCE AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

Neither must it be supposed that the solicitude of the Church is so occupied with the spiritual concerns of its children as to neglect their interests, temporal and earthly. Its desire is that the poor, for example, should rise above their poverty and wretchedness, and should better their condition in life, and for this it strives. . . . Christian morality, when it is adequately and completely practised, conduces to temporal prosperity; for it merits the blessing of that God who is the source of all blessings: . . . it makes men supply by economy for the want of means, teaching them to be content with frugal living, and keeping them out of the reach of those vices which eat up, not merely small incomes but large fortunes, and dissipate many a goodly inheritance.—LEO XIII., *Encyclical Letter on Condition of Labour*.

The use of strong drink produces more idleness, crime, disease, want, and misery than all other causes put together.—*Times*, Jan. 19, 1863.

England sober is England free, happy, and contented. If we could make the English working-man a total abstainer, we could settle the most serious of the social problems that confront us now.—CARDINAL MANNING.

THE Social Question is the question of the day. It was so, indeed, before Leo XIII. had written his *Encyclical on the "Condition of Labour"*: but that document has brought it into a prominence which it never could otherwise have attained. For the Governments of Europe, and for thoughtful men everywhere, it had been for long a subject for anxious study; the great crowd of the "disinherited of the world" had been sending up its cry of despair, till men were forced to hear, but it was only when the Father of the faithful spoke that all his children listened, and that the world's attention became rivetted on the subject, as it is to-day. It was no new thing—though men thought it so—this concern of God's Church for God's poor. True, no Pope had previously written so formally on the subject of labour, but no Pope had ever ceased, and no Pope will ever cease, to take a fatherly interest in the welfare, temporal as well as spiritual, of the weak ones of his household. Its charity must ever remain a mark of the true Church; in this, as in other things, the Church of Christ must ever be like Christ Himself, and Christ

gave it as a sign to the messengers of St. John that "the poor had the Gospel preached unto them." Ever has it been the same; from those early days of first Christian fervour, when men would have all things in common, to those latter times when we hear of a saintly priest dying for his leper flock, of a great cardinal making it the labour of his life and of his love to preach the redemption of slaves, and of our great reigning Pontiff crowning the noble work of a glorious life by pleading the cause of the poor, and vindicating the rights of labour. And what is the panacea which the Holy Father proposes? Many had already been suggested; men had been propounding various solutions, and there were theories beyond number that seemed very brilliant, but were as false as they were brilliant. The word of Leo differed from them all. It was new and yet old, new because it was so unlike the discordant jarring voices that had hitherto been distracting men's minds, and old because in recalling them to Christ and His teaching it only reminded them of truths which were old indeed, but had been forgotten.

The Encyclical does not treat explicitly of temperance; the word does not once occur in it, but in the passages cited, and elsewhere, the subject is embraced and dealt with as fully as could have been expected in a document which, of necessity, treated of principles rather than details. What the Pope, however, could not have noted, had long since been remarked by students of the social question, and it cannot be without interest to study, in the light of recent developments, how much our drinking has to do with our poverty, and how deep down it is at the root of what has come to be called our Social Question. We are not of the number of those—if there are such people—who detect in teetotalism, or in any system of temperance reform, a panacea for the multitudinous and multiform ills of this world: there are social and economic conditions outside the temperance question, which must be calculated, and when every theory of the temperance and other reformer shall have had its fair trial, the words of Leo XIII. will yet be as true, and as necessary to be borne in mind, as ever.

To suffer and to endure therefore [says the Holy Father] is the lot of humanity; let men try as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which

beset it. . . . And if society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life and to Christian institutions. When a society is perishing, the true advice to give to those who would restore it is to recall it to the principles from which it sprung.

Intemperance of language is sometimes said to be a characteristic of temperance advocates. We do not think strong language is either needful or helpful to so good a cause; and we will not knowingly use it. In the presence of appalling facts and figures, we shall sometimes, indeed, find it difficult to retain our equanimity; but we may then quote in extenuation the example of men in high places and holding high and responsible positions; for it was a Chief Justice of England that said: "I can keep no terms with a vice that fills our jails, that destroys the comfort of homes and the peace of families, and debases and brutalises the people of these islands;"\* and it was an English Protestant bishop that said: "I use strong language because I see the mischief that this most detestable traffic is doing. I know that every effort I make, as a minister of religion, is more than neutralised by the efforts that are being made in an opposite direction."†

To observe some order, we may put our remarks under the headings—(a) Poverty, (b) Crime, and (c) Trade.

(a) Drink and Poverty.—The state of desperate poverty and degradation of large masses of people in our great cities is assuredly one of the chief factors of our social problem. A good deal of attention has been recently directed to the point. There are public officials whose duties send them to the slums, and there are others whose charity or philanthropy only direct them there: the former have given us reports and the latter graphic and harrowing descriptions, and every reader by this time must have heard of the squalid wretchedness and poverty to be found side by side with our wealth and luxury, and in the richest cities in this richest kingdom of the world. Let us look on this picture and on that; let us contrast for a moment the poverty of millions of our poor with the deplorable annual waste in these countries for intoxicating drinks. Mr. White, in a paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society, quotes as follows from a Report to the Liverpool Town Council,

\* Chief Justice Coleridge.

† Bishop of Manchester.

and we must content ourselves with the one extract, taken from many similar :

Data connected with most of the houses in one of the apparently most destitute streets were submitted to us. . . . A man earns regularly 27s. and as regularly spends 21s. in drink. His four children are in rags. In another instance the wages are 30s.; the father and mother are drunken, and the three children are half starved and in rags. In another house is a copper-ore worker earning 27s. a week, almost all of which is spent in drink by himself and his wife. The children are in rags and filth, and look idiotic. In the same street are sober men earning 20s. or 23s. a week, and living in comfort.

After reading such statements, we begin to understand figures which to many appear incredible. It has been calculated that in London one out of three are relieved by some charitable institution, and that in England generally one in eight dies a pauper! Even writers from whom we have a right to expect the calm judgment and studied accuracy of the scientist are led to speak of

Multitudes working inhuman hours with unremitting toil for wages seldom sufficient and often a mockery; working, too, in horrible unsanitary conditions, dwelling huddled together in miserable overcrowded rooms; . . . and all this wretchedness after thirty years of peace, in the very world's centre of accumulated wealth and commercial power, in the very seat of world-wide dominion.\*

Now let us look at the other picture, and see what we annually spend for intoxicating drink. The drink bill for 1891 was more than £141,000,000; it was an increase on the amount for the previous year of £1,725,205; and it meant for each individual of the population £3 15s., and for each family of five £18 15s. Commenting on these appalling figures, the Rev. Dr. Dawson Burns, from whom I take them, says :

The facts remain that a vast sum, equal to one-fifth of the annual National Debt, not far from twice as large as the annual national revenue, and compared with which all our boasted contributions to benevolence, science, and education are insignificant, was poured, last year, down the throats of a part of the people in the form of liquors, which made them neither wiser nor richer nor stronger, but, on the contrary, placed fresh burdens on the national shoulders, added fresh stains to the national conscience, and embittered with fresh miseries and troubles the national life.

---

\* Devas, "Political Economy."

The better to realise the import of such figures, statisticians make various comparisons. We give about twice as much, for instance, for our intoxicating drink as for our bread; our drink bill is larger than the rent-roll of the kingdom; if we abstained for a few years we might wipe out our National Debt; and the grain we destroy yearly for the purposes of distillation and malting would give about two hundred loaves to each family in these countries. Political economists, it is true, will largely discount our calculations. Mr. Devas, for instance, insists that one-fourth of what we call our drink bill must be set down, not as the price of drink at all, but as a tax on drink, which forms a large part of the public revenue; and that, of the remaining figure, about a half may be taken as expended on the moderate use of drink, on what may be therefore considered as food, or served at least to "gladden the heart of man." But one or two obvious remarks suggest themselves. On his own showing, he admits that there remains a balance of some £50,000,000 a year that goes in wilful waste. Well, when we remember the state of millions of our fellow-men in the slums of all our large cities, of thousands of honest men looking for work and looking in vain, and of the children crying for bread from parents who cannot give it, I fear even this figure represents a waste that must be termed woful as well as wilful. About the "moderate use," the first thing we should determine is its meaning; then only shall we be in a position of calculating its cost. If medical men have any *locus standi* at all in the temperance question, we would think they should have a voice here; but we shall quickly find that what they mean by moderation is a very different thing indeed from what many or most of those who drink fancy it. Who, in fact, does *not* consider himself a moderate drinker? As to the question of the revenue derived from the tax on drink, there arises the further question of the policy and the morality of fostering a trade which leads to so much misery for individuals, families, and the community at large. This was what Mr. Gladstone contemplated when he said, "I shall not think it compatible with my duty to oppose any such plan as the Permissive Bill on fiscal grounds. I should myself urge that fiscal grounds, whether they be important or not, must necessarily be secondary to that question. It ought to

be decided entirely on social and moral grounds." This is what Mr. Fernald,\* an American writer, means when he says that it is better to raise our revenue by direct tax than a larger amount by drink tax; for while the saloon increases the taxes on the one hand, it depreciates, on the other, the value of property and the volume of honest business—a combination which no licence can meet. We should here consider and take into our calculation what is called the indirect cost of our drinking: the poverty and crime that follow; the sickness and premature deaths; the waste of time and loss to trade; the cost of maintaining our prisons, workhouses, and asylums, and so forth. It is generally held by temperance advocates that this indirect cost is at least equal to the direct; and Mr. White, who, as secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, must have special means of acquiring correct information, does not hesitate to state that the cost, direct and indirect, is not less than £310,000,000 annually.

To tax a trade, and then apply a large portion of the revenue accruing to undo the mischief that had been produced, may seem deep wisdom to statesmen, but to others it looks almost grotesque. Large as has been the indirect cost of our drinking habits, there is but too much reason to dread that, present conditions remaining unchanged, it shall be still larger in the immediate future. We hear much nowadays of the claim for "old age pensions": when we shall be called upon to provide for our old folk, the cost must be set down, I think, to a large extent, to the same account to which we have already put a large proportion of the cost of our workhouses, prisons, and asylums. The aged poor cannot provide for themselves, and then the public must. A couple of years ago the Danish Government proposed an additional tax on beer, which was the ordinary drink of the masses. Thereupon the friends of the labourer introduced a Pensions Bill, on the principle that, if the poor were to be extra-taxed, they should be in some way proportionately benefited. The Pensions Bill became law; and about half the proceeds of the new beer tax was devoted to the purpose: a striking instance of what I have designated the grotesque action of governments—making people pay dearly

---

\* "Economics of Prohibition."

for their beer, and their consenting to provide for them, when they could purchase neither bread nor beer any longer. Instances of a similar kind might be multiplied, and some of them would be found in those countries. To teach the people how to provide for themselves would be, to the thinking of people who do not profess to be statesmen, more in accord with the duty and the interest of a paternal and a wise government. If we had been inculcating temperance and thrift at school: and if afterwards we had been striving to make it "easy to do right and difficult to do wrong," what a great living statesman has declared to be the duty of every government, instead of setting and multiplying drink-traps throughout the land, we should not now have to deal with the question of "old age pensions" and a score of kindred questions which go to make up our great social problem. How few, if any, are there among the poorest of our poor who could not "better his condition," and by the means which Leo XIII. suggests—"economy and frugal living"? One who speaks with authority on the dull science has ventured to state that the labouring man who had learned to lay aside the sum of £1 would never die a pauper. How few among our "submerged tenth" but could at one period of their lives or another have, with a little prudence and "frugal living," laid aside that sum? That the beginning is half the work, is nowhere so true as in economy; and no more useful lesson for the man to whom we would teach the first lessons in thrift. The beginnings of most of our poor people should of necessity be small indeed; but what a pity that they have not learned in their youth, what great things can be done, and what marvellous things have been done from beginnings as small as they could have been; that some of our merchant princes have started in life with a few shillings; and that from the lowliest ranks have come, in every age and country, men to fill the highest positions in every department of the State, and to win fame, in industry and invention, in literature, science, and art. When we come across some illustrations of what may be done with a little, how startling they seem! Three shillings spent weekly—Mr. Smile tells us—will amount in twenty years to £240; in ten years more, with its interest, it will have bounded up to £420. A poor man that puts sixpence in a savings bank weekly for twenty years will have £40 to his credit, and £70 in thirty

years. Three pints a day—calculates Archdeacon Farrar—will cost £9 in a year, and with interest would equal in twenty years £257. An illustration of a somewhat different sort may be taken at random from one of the many useful but little known publications, of our Temperance Societies :

Supposing that £1,500,000 were turned over in a cotton factory in a year it is estimated that it would give employment to about seven thousand persons, whereas the same sum turned over in a distillery would only give employment to about one hundred and fifty persons. In 1880 the sum of £28,000,000 was spent in British spirits. To how many more people would it have given employment, if it had been expended in calico instead ? Answer, 127,866.\*

But it may be said, that it is not after all the poor that spend their money in drink, and swell our annual drink-bill to its present appalling proportions: that it is in vain, therefore, to draw pictures of our poverty and of our waste; for the two things are far apart, and have no relation one to another; and that if great poverty and greater luxury co-exist, they do so in different places, and among classes of society that are totally distinct. If this were so it would matter little, and unhappily it is not so. First, what would it matter? May the denizens of our West End spend millions a year on their rare wines, while the hapless dwellers in our East End die in hunger? Is our social question solved, and may our wealth and poverty go on for ever, if only we keep them well apart, or if we manage to preserve a strip of neutral territory between them? Even this consolation, however, is not for us; for there are reasons but too conclusive to demonstrate that all participate, not alone in creating our drink-bill, but in its steady annual increase. A cursory study of the matter will reveal the fact that the increase is not limited to any one class of drink, and that it is shown alike in those which are the common drinks of the masses as well as those which may be considered the beverages of the opulent. It is a notorious fact that in the lowest slums in London and elsewhere gorgeous gin-palaces and public-houses thrive and multiply. It is sometimes a question whether we should say that drunkenness produces poverty, or rather the reverse; if we go for a solution

---

\* "Temperance Arithmetic Questions."

into such places we shall probably be forced to the conclusion that it is a question of action and re-action. The public-house produces poverty, and as some one has said, "generates the slums"; but just as undeniably the slums produce drunkenness; for men are driven from their environments of squalor and degradation to seek a temporary solace in the various attractions of the neighbouring gin-palace. If we go into any of those localities, we can easily note the number of such establishments; we can as easily find the population in a given area, and from those premises we can at once see how much the poorest of our poor are spending day by day in intoxicating drink. It has been calculated, for instance, that in one of the lowest quarters of London 11,000 people—the poorest of the poor—spend annually no less than £16,000 for such drink. The inmates of our reformatories and homes for waifs come almost exclusively from the poorest class of society; it will be interesting therefore in this connection to inquire what it was that sent them to those establishments. Dr. Barnardo replies that 85 per cent. of his children owed their ruin directly or indirectly to the drunkenness or drinking habits of parents or relatives. Dr. Guthrie says that 99 per cent. of the children of his ragged schools come there for a similar cause, and we have reason to believe that the larger figure given by him is the more correct, for in his Report for 1888 Dr. Barnardo states:

I would not now hesitate to affirm that of all my young clients the percentage who are stricken down in life through the agency of the drink curse is nearer the very large figures given by the late Dr. Guthrie, than the estimate I formed in 1871. Dr. Guthrie stated repeatedly that no fewer than 99 per cent. of the children admitted to his ragged schools were the offspring of parents whose poverty was due to their drinking habits.\*

In the year 1866 the Health Committee of Liverpool made a report on the social condition of the town. The following extract will be *apropos*:

The result of the inquiry is the conviction, supported by a mass of evidence, that the proximate causes of the increased death-rate are intemperance, indigence, and over-crowding, those two latter being generally

---

\* "Cost of our Drinking Customs," by Mr. White.

found in the train of intemperance, although all three act and re-act on each other, as cause and effect. Your sub-committee need not here set forth in detail all the evils consequent on intemperance. *The evidence abundantly shows that the vice is alarmingly prevalent among the labouring population, and that its wretched victims and their families sink rapidly into squalid poverty resulting in over-crowding and its attendant evils.\**

Testimonies of a similar kind might be multiplied. I shall add only one taken from a recent work that has attracted considerable attention, "The Irish in Australia," by Mr. Hogan.

The Irish emigrant to Australia [says the author], who systematically abstained from intemperance, and cultivated habits of industry, always attained to success and frequently arrived at affluence. Thousands of such instances might be quoted. On the other hand, it is equally true that some of our emigrant countrymen fall victims to the ever-open public-house, and the prevailing sociable conviviality of the colonies.

There is no need, however, to go abroad in search of examples and testimonies: instances meet our eye every day, and if they have ceased to excite surprise or even to attract attention, it argues only their frequency, and our familiarity with them. Every day, and in every village in the land, we are confronted with the sight of individuals and families who are prevented from "bettering their condition," as the Church so ardently desires, by intemperance; while, with hardly less frequency, we are forced to contemplate the still sadder sight of the ruin of families respectable, and once opulent, and the "dissipation of many a goodly inheritance" by the same cause. The extent of such dissipation even among the poor, and the loss direct and indirect, will sometimes seem almost incredible. I have known a tradesman who paid in fines alone, for drunkenness and the quarrels that followed, no less than £150. He frequently got drunk, and as frequently came in contact with the police; the fines became heavier as time went on, and offences were repeated; he was a good worker and regular in his payments, so that when necessary, the magistrates gave him time, and thus before the end of a rather long life the unfortunate man had paid the enormous sum stated. On one occasion, when he pleaded for time to pay a £5 fine, the magistrate said: "Indeed, poor man, you shall have time; for you have paid here as much as would purchase an estate, a

---

\* *Ibid.* p. 9.

carriage, and a pair of horses." Duly, he came back with the £5, earned by honest and hard work, and when he paid it, he had not remaining, as I am assured, fivepence. A young fellow—to take another of the examples which one constantly meets—came to me while I happened to be engaged in writing this paper, to take the pledge. He was a drover: he could sometimes earn 10s. a day, and on an average 30s. a week; though he had been following his avocation for many years he seemed in a miserable plight, and it was but too plain he was not the owner of a penny. Taking his own statement as a basis of calculation, I have no hesitation in saying that had he been thrifty and temperate he might have had a better and happier life, and have now to his credit, in a savings bank, at least £100. One more illustration only. Just now our Militia regiments are being disbanded. The men composing them belong largely to the "residuum"—men who hardly ever possess 20s. together, except on the day of disbanding; humanly speaking a large proportion of them are destined to die in the work-house, and if within a month a relief fund were started in their respective parishes, many of them with their families would be found in the lists of applicants. The force numbers, I believe, some five or six thousand in the Kingdom; the men receive, in one shape or another, about £10,000. If each one of these men set aside his £1 bounty to make a beginning in life with, we should have there and then, about five thousand men, not one of whom, if our economy be not entirely deceiving us, was destined to die a pauper. But what are the facts? I do not like even to seem to exaggerate, but I do not know that I am not much within the truth when I say that I fear that half the amount will have passed over the bar of the public-house within a week, perhaps within forty-eight hours! Well, if so, it certainly is an argument for the better teaching of temperance and thrift in our primary schools, and it is at the same time a striking illustration of how closely connected our drinking is with our poverty.

We have spoken of cases in which men have raised themselves from the lowest ranks to wealth and distinction. It will be found, I think, a rule without exception that in such cases temperance had been the handmaid of industry, and that the men who so raised themselves had been, practically at least,

total abstainers. Nor is the reason far to seek, and the leaders of the labourers have come to see it. "The strongest link," says Mr. Powderly, "of oppression is that which I forge when I drown reason in strong drink. No man can rob me of the reason which God has given me unless I be a party to the theft." "The moral forces of the masses," says Cobden, "lie in Temperance. I have no faith in anything apart from that movement for the elevation of the working-class." The amount of possible savings for our labouring people is at best but small; so small that it must vanish where there is the habitual use of intoxicating drink. A man earns 12s. a week; of this sum 10s. goes, let us say, for his support and clothing; if he be a drinking man, even in a moderate way, the balance will disappear. A family of three or four has a weekly income of forty shillings; of this thirty-five goes to meet necessary household expenses; there is a balance of five shillings, but if the father or mother, or both, take a daily pint, the children that have commenced to earn are pretty sure to have commenced, like their parents, to drink, and the five shillings shall have vanished by Saturday night. Total abstinence would have a balance at the end of the year of £5 in the one case, and of £12 in the other; and what would be better than the balance, self-confidence and self-respect would soon be apparent, and the habit of economy which had saved so much would year by year become more systematic and more prized.

I had intended to deal with one or two other aspects of the social question, in their connection with temperance, but the subject of our poverty has suggested sufficient matter for one paper, and I think the reader will agree that this matter, if not pleasant, is at least practical, and worthy of our best consideration. At another time I may, with the editor's permission, add something on the kindred subjects of (*b*) Temperance and Crime, and (*c*) Temperance and Trade. That our drinking has to do with our poverty passes as a truism; but I cannot rid myself of the conviction that this is true to an extent which few if any of us realise, and which, if we did but realise it, would of itself all but adequately explain the poverty of which the world hears so much to-day. What we have written will help us to understand how true and full of

meaning are the words which a distinguished Irish prelate\* recently spoke :

The working-men had their own happiness and their own destiny in their own hands ; and if they were as faithful to the principles of temperance as some of those around him, whom he had known for fifteen years, there would be far less poverty, far less misery, and far less of the wretchedness which they so often saw in the homes of the working-man.  
*With Temperance would come prosperity.*

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.

---

\* Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick,

## ART. IV.—FATHER OHRWALDER'S CAPTIVITY.

*Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp (1882-1892).* From the Original Manuscripts of Father Joseph Ohrwalder, late Priest of the Austrian Mission Station at Delen, in Kordofan. By Major F. R. WINGATE, R.A. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1892.

THE vicissitudes of the Catholic Missions in the Soudan, of which the latest and most direful chapter is now before the public, have been followed in a series of articles in these pages.\* Although created a Vicariate by Gregory XVI. in 1846, this vast district, transferred to the Franciscans by its first evangelisers, the Jesuits, in 1861, had lain almost fallow, until it found an apostle in the late Mgr. Comboni, created, in May 1872, Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the Missions of Central Africa, with spiritual jurisdiction over an area as large as that of the entire continent of Europe. He had, six years before, laid the foundation of a special organisation for mission work in Central Africa, in the Institute of Verona, founded in 1866 as a training college for male and female teachers, with an auxiliary establishment in Cairo, for the education of negroes and acclimatisation of missionaries. With the resources furnished by these institutions he was enabled at once to organise the missions of Kordofan, chosen by him as the chief field of his apostolic labours, in preference to the pestilential swamps of the White Nile, where climate had rendered the efforts of his predecessors almost nugatory.

Making El Obeid, the capital of this part of the Soudan, his base of operations, he sent out thence missionary colonies to the surrounding districts, of which the principal and most flourishing was that of Delen, established in 1875, among the Jebel Nuba, or Mountains of the Nubas, in Southern Kordofan. The missionaries were here well received by the population, though rather in a spirit of religious eclecticism than in that of converts, as they were willing at times to supplement their own

---

\* April 1881, "Catholic Missions in Central Africa;" April 1884, "The Revolution in the Soudan;" April 1885, "The Destiny of Khartoum."

devotional observances by having recourse either to Christian or Mohammedan ministrations. Father Ohrwalder, who joined the little band of workers in this station on December 5, 1881, was most favourably impressed with its situation and surroundings. The monotonous aspect of the plain of Kordofan is here diversified by picturesque hill scenery, and vivified by the circulation of living streams. The intervening plains and valleys are covered with luxuriant vegetation, nourished by this perennial supply of water, and the *khors*, or ravines, are overgrown with trees of colossal dimensions, forming a canopy impenetrable to the rays of the sun. Vegetation is so rapid as to render the plains impassable during the rainy months, after which a clearance is effected by firing the waving sea of grasses and flowering plants that everywhere submerges them. Deer, antelope, and wild boar browse on this succulent growth, while the woods harbour elephants, apes, monkeys, and birds of varied plumage, as well as snakes, among which the boa constrictor is conspicuous.

About a hundred of the mountains forming this group are inhabited by a population which does not now exceed 50,000, though it was more considerable before the Nubas were decimated by the raids of the Baggaras and other Arab tribes, and the remnant obliged to take refuge in the most inaccessible retreats in the mountains. They lead peaceable and harmless lives, supplementing the wild fruits and vegetables which the bounty of Nature supplies in gratuitous abundance by the cultivation of a sufficiency of maize, sesame, and beans to furnish them with subsistence. They are monogamists, with the exception of the Khojur, their pontiff and chief, who governs them in accordance with their traditional laws and customs. Their religion consists of a number of superstitious rites and practices, erected into a system of imposture by the priests.

Among these mild-mannered savages a little agricultural colony was established by the missionaries, whose converts, removed from the temptations of the towns, worked steadily and well at the cultivation of the allotments of land assigned them. Jebel Delen, the particular group of mountains in which they had established themselves, consists of five hill summits, the highest point of which rises about 1500 feet above the plain, situated five days' march to the south of El Obeid. The heights

are formed of enormous granite blocks, piled one upon the other, with intervening cavities in which panthers and other wild beasts have their dens. Only two of the hills are inhabited by a population remarkable for their tall stature and graceful carriage.

On this happy pastoral community the storm-cloud of havoc that was about to overwhelm the entire Soudan broke on April 8, 1882, in the shape of a local raid of the Baggara Arabs of the plains. These tribesmen, who are even in peace little better than banditti, had joined the standard of the Mahdi, while the mountaineers of Delen had remained faithful to the missionaries and loyal to the Government of Egypt. Taking refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, they were able to maintain a desultory border warfare for four months, until the advance into Kordofan of the main body of the dervishes, flushed with victory after the massacre of an Egyptian force under Yussuf Pasha Esh-Shellali, on June 7th of that year. The whole *personnel* of the mission fell into the hands of a detachment of the rebel army, under an ex-slave-dealer, Mek Omar, on September 15, and their story is thenceforward intertwined with that of the extraordinary man whose name must be inscribed among those of the greatest scourges of humanity. The early life of Mohammed Ahmed, and the rise of his baleful star on the horizon of history, are already matter of public knowledge, but we know no darker chapter in the story of the human race than that of his and his successor's rule, as now fully told for the first time in the pages before us.

He was at this time about forty years of age, and not enervated as yet by the subsequent life of self-indulgence which cut short his career in its zenith of triumphant achievement. In the eyes of his superstitious followers he was invested with a halo of miraculous prestige, from the ability or good fortune which had enabled him to destroy in succession every Egyptian force sent against him. He had just before this period appointed three Khalifas—Abdullah, already named as his successor, Ali Wad Helu, a powerful Arab chieftain, and his own son-in-law, Ali Esh-Sherif, like himself a native of Dongola. The two first-named leaders represented the Baggaras, or Arab tribesmen, whose party eventually gained the ascendancy over the

rival interest of the Gellabas, or traders, called Walad el Beled (people of the country) or Walad el Bahr (people of the river), led by the Mahdi and Sherif. Each Khalifa commanded a section of the army classified under these different nationalities, and led by a number of emirs, all carrying distinctive flags. These officers, whose rank may be considered to correspond to that of colonel, although the number of men commanded by them varied from fifty to four thousand, had under them Mukuddums, or subordinate officers, and these again others of still inferior grade. The fighting instincts of the fierce warriors were unshackled by any system of drill, and they were armed in the beginning, in imitation of the forces of the original Prophet, with sticks and lances alone. Their wild onset, spurred by the reckless heroism of fanaticism, formed, as the English learned later to their cost, a very efficient substitute for all conventional tactics or discipline.

It was to the headquarters of this motley host, 100,000 strong, by that time encamped before El Obeid, that the little missionary party, consisting of Father Bonomi, the Superior, Father Ohrwalder, two lay-brothers, and four sisters, were conducted by their captors after a weary and exhausting march. Their appearance in the camp was the signal for an outbreak of such wild excitement that their escort had to form square and protect them with their swords against the violence of the yelling crowd of dervishes. The Mahdi himself, a master of dissimulation, treated them with courtesy, inflicting on them nothing worse than a long harangue on his victories and his mission; but by the Khalifa Abdullah, to whose hut they were next conducted, they were plainly told that they had only to choose between death and apostasy. A few days later it was announced to them that they were to be beheaded on the following morning, and they spent the night in preparation for death. The dawn was signalised by a wonderful apparition, a brilliant comet, whose tail rose like a silver scimitar brandished above the eastern horizon. Termed by the dervishes Nijmet el Mahdi, the Mahdi's star, it recalled to the captives the Star of Bethlehem, and to Mussulman and Christian seemed to herald a different form of triumph. So near did it come in the case of the latter, that in the centre of the mighty host of their enemies, marshalled in full parade, they were

ordered to bend their necks to receive the deathblow. But theirs was not to be so speedy a martyrdom, and the stroke did not fall. Summoned before the arbiter of their destiny, they found him mounted on a magnificent white camel, sheltered by an umbrella held over his head by a slave riding behind him. Again the Prophet of Islam treated them with mild forbearance, inspired probably by involuntary admiration of their constancy, and rode on after addressing to them the single ejaculation, "May Allah lead you to the way of truth."

Their ultimate fate, however, still hung in the balance, and was discussed at a council held a little later. Although the majority were in favour of their death, the opinion of an Emir, who maintained that it was unlawful to slay priests who had offered no resistance, prevailed, and they were handed over to the kindly care of George Stambuli, an influential Greek, who had befriended them to the utmost of his power.

Sheltered in a hut of straw and branches, they now formed part of the vast camp filling up the whole plain round El Obeid, and making it seem at night, when innumerable fires were lit, like a sea of tossing flame. The aggregation of this mass of humanity soon produced fever and other illnesses among the little band of missionaries, and ere a month three of their number, two sisters and the carpenter Mariani, had fallen victims to these disorders. Meantime, El Obeid, closely invested on all sides, was undergoing the horrors of famine, and the once pleasant city, with houses interspersed with palm-groves, was little better than a charnel-house, where the dead lay unburied in the streets, and carrion kites, gorged until too distended with their hideous repast to be able to fly away, were rendered in their turn a prey to starving humanity. The sufferings of the inhabitants were shared by the missionaries within the walls, and Father Losi, the Superior, died of their results in the form of scurvy, in the month of December. The survivors, Father Rossignoli, with brother Locatelli and four sisters, of course fell into the hands of the Mahdi when the town was compelled to capitulate a little later, on January 19, 1883, and after he had vainly sought to force them to apostatise they were allowed to join their companions in the camp. In defiance of the terms of surrender of the Egyptian forces, the principal officers were

slaughtered and the inhabitants enslaved, while the town was given up to pillage. It was then occupied by a portion of the victorious army, while the remainder lived in huts forming a ring of suburbs outside the walls. Great luxury and indulgence were now substituted for the former abstemious life of the camp, and the Mahdi and his officers, quartered in the principal Government buildings, gave themselves up to indolence and pleasure. The finances were reorganised on the basis of general confiscation, and an austere code of laws promulgated, penalising even such minor offences as smoking and drinking.

During this pause in the precipitate course of the Soudan revolution, the prisoners continued to drag out a miserable existence, varied only by vague, and often false, rumours of events happening at a distance. Hope revived, however, as the summer went on, for a great army was known to be advancing to their relief, and news of its approach was daily looked for. The fate of that army is matter of history, but the details of the disaster, and the inner record of the means by which it was brought about, have never been clearly given to the world before. It was on November 1 that Mohammed Ahmed marched out from El Obeid, followed by every man, woman, and child within its walls, to give the doomed force of Hicks Pasha to feed the hyenas and the kites. Led by treacherous guides, they had simply marched into a death-trap, and the dervishes, who hemmed them in with a ring of fire on every side, had little to do but

To slay, and slay, and slay.

It was not so much a battle as a massacre, for while on one side but five score men survived as prisoners out of eleven thousand, the loss on the other was no more than three hundred and fifty. Money and war material, Krupp and machine guns, Remington rifles, axes and other implements, watches and clothing, were all appropriated by the *beit el mal*, or public treasury of the Mahdi, who amid an indescribable scene of savage exultation re-entered El Obeid in triumph on November 6. The result was decisive of the fate of the entire of Kordofan and Darfur, the whole of which latter province submitted to the conqueror in the space of eight days.

The sufferings of the missionaries were much aggravated

about this time by the misfortune which befell their friend and protector, Stambuli. A charge having been brought against him through envy, he fell into disgrace, and though eventually acquitted and restored to favour, was permanently deprived of his property, and so rendered unable to maintain his *protégés* as he had hitherto done. They were consequently now reduced to support themselves as best they could by the aid of industries with which they had previously eked out their subsistence.

The sisters [says the narrative] made jibbehs (dervish coats) which Stambuli sold and gave us the proceeds. We obtained the material chiefly from the clothes of the soldiers who had been killed, and from the officers' tunics. O'Donovan's mackintosh and some other articles of clothing which Klootz (one of the survivors) recognised, came into our hands, and were soon cut up. Most of the clothing was stained with blood, which we were obliged to wash out; but what bitter thoughts occupied our minds in this sad task!

Events were now hurrying on to the crowning tragedy of the Soudan, for intelligence was secretly conveyed to the Fathers that an English Envoy had reached Khartoum, and the tide of battle was about to roll onwards to that doomed city. Hope, however, revived for a time in the breasts of the captives, when a letter from Gordon reached the Mahdi, asking for their release, and promising to recognise him as Sultan of all the Western Soudan. These proposals the Mussulman ruler laughed to scorn, well aware that the gallant Englishman was unsupported by material force. He remarked that he was offered nothing but what he possessed already, while the very ground his adversary stood on was his as soon as he came to take it. His reply was a request to him to come and join him, the letter being accompanied by the gift of a full dervish uniform—jibbeh, turban, and sandals.

This embassy despatched, the wild hordes of Islam were set in motion once more, and heralds were sent out, east, north, south, and west, calling on all to follow on the Mahdi's track to Rahad, the great gathering-place on the way to Khartoum. In the midst of this fresh upheaval of the forces of fanaticism, the Christian prisoners' lot became a doubly hard one, as all were distributed as slaves among the different emirs as a preliminary to the march. The poor sisters in particular

suffered a cruel persecution in order to compel them to abandon their faith, the Khalifa's wives adding their insults and vituperations to those of their male captors. The priests, too, were treated with the greatest indignity, and with a refinement of insolence the Mahdi's three sons, ranging from seven to ten years of age, were daily sent to insult and torment Father Ohrwalder.

At length [he goes on] on April 7, 1884, the Mahdi set out, and we with him. The huge camp, swarming with thousands and thousands of people, became empty in a few days, and each one as he left his hut set fire to it, so that nothing was to be seen but clouds of smoke and flames darting upwards to the sky.

Just as we were leaving, I was made over to another master, Idris Wad el Hashmi. When I arrived at his house I found everything ready for the journey; numbers of well-bound books were lying about on the floor. I picked one up and found it was "The Soldier's Pocket-book," by Lord Wolseley. I would like to have searched among these books for a diary, but they turned me out; Idris had taken them out of some good leather trunks which he had filled with his own effects. Three days after the Mahdi's departure, my master and I quitted El Obeid. The road to Rahad was one uninterrupted stream of human beings—men, women, and children; camels carrying the household goods, on the top of which were fastened angaribs, on which women were seated; oxen and donkeys, all heavily laden; numbers of Arabs were driving along their flocks with them; here one sees a camel fallen under its heavy load, there a child or a slave vainly seeking in the crowd for its lost master. Of course I had to walk, and to act as a camel-driver as well, subject to continual insult and threatening. I moved along as best I could; the Arabs applauded my master's good sense in making me his camel-driver, and urged that I should carry a load as well. We had to halt frequently, as the camels were so heavily laden.

The burning sun and fatigue were terribly oppressive, and it always is a wonder to me how I escaped sunstroke. As to food, I had a share of my master's horses' meal. In the evening I was obliged to clean the dokhn (grain) which was given to the horse, and the pangs of hunger made me covet even this, while I was obliged to ask my master's slave to occasionally give me a gulp of water; indeed, this slave pitied my wretched state.

Still greater sufferings were undergone by the sisters, obliged to walk the whole distance barefooted over thorns and burning sand, and sometimes to carry heavy loads as well. Little food or drink was allowed them during the three days' march, and when they stopped to rest for a moment they were driven forward under the lash of their masters'

whips. Nor did their persecution cease until after their arrival at Rahad, when one of them succeeded in forcing her way into the presence of the Mahdi, who so far relented as to allow them to be placed under the protection of the Greeks attached to the army in various capacities. Their worst sufferings were then at an end, and they lived thenceforward in comparative peace and tranquillity.

The camp at Rahad was, as may be imagined, an unsavoury residence, and the festering matter allowed to collect undisturbed under the torrid sun, bred such a plague of flies that eating by day was impossible, since "one would have eaten as many flies as food." The scene, however, was not without a certain impressiveness when "at prayer time thousands upon thousands of dervishes ranged themselves in well-ordered lines behind the Mahdi, and the shout of 'Allah Hou Akbar' resounded through the air."

Here, on two occasions, the Father was summoned to an interview with his captor, and the pair, seated on the ground under a large tree, carried on a religious disquisition at intervals from morning to night. The recitation of the Lord's Prayer in Arabic by Father Ohrwalder, as a specimen of Christian orisons, very much surprised the listeners, who had been taught to believe that the Giaours did not know how to pray. The Prophet acknowledged, too, that Christians were good people who fed the hungry, but declared all such deeds of mercy useless, as those who did not believe in him "were but wood for the fire."

At this juncture, the English Cabinet still held the fate of Khartoum and of the Eastern Soudan in the hollow of its hand, for the Mahdi had halted in his march, intimidated by the bare rumour of an expedition, and lay crouching in his camp at Rahad, like a wild beast in his lair, waiting to see if his enemy would indeed be given into his hand by his abandonment by his countrymen. Father Ohrwalder's view of Gordon's mission is that without such support it was worse than useless, delaying till too late the withdrawal of garrisons and population, by deluding them with the false hopes of European succour. The glamour of a single name was unavailing against all the wild hates and passions unchained in the uprising of the desert.

Throughout the summer, while England was wavering between rescue and betrayal, the war cloud was steadily gathering around Khartoum, and the fall of Berber, after eight days' siege by some of the neighbouring tribesmen, completed its isolation on the north. It was not, however, until August 8 that the main camp of the Mahdists broke up, and that its massed multitude, over 200,000 in number, with 4000 horsemen, began to roll heavily forward on its long march through an untracked region, over ground sodden by the rain. Fresh cavalry continued to join all along the way, and herds of cattle, driven with the troops, died in such numbers on the road as to mark it with an unbroken line of carcasses. Meat was plenty but grain scarce, as all agricultural pursuits were abandoned by the population. The headquarters reached Omdurman on October 23, 1884, but stragglers continued to come in until the beginning of November. The advantage temporarily conferred on the besieged by the rise of the Nile had by that time been nullified by the fall of the rivers, as the defensive efficacy of the great natural ditch made by their confluence was correspondingly diminished. Hemmed in on all sides by the Mahdi's motley array, the town was soon reduced to sore straits by want of provisions, and treachery aided the demoralising effects of famine within its walls. Father Ohrwalder does full justice to Gordon's extraordinary resourcefulness, energy, and influence over the inhabitants:

He was almost superhuman [he says] in his efforts to keep up hope. Every day, and many and many a time during the day, did he look towards the north from the roof of the palace for the relief which never arrived. He overcame the want of money by issuing paper bonds; but soon the people refused to accept them, and to enforce his order he sent fourteen merchants to the east bank, just in front of the enemy's guns; this he did to frighten them, and when they agreed to accept the bonds, he had them brought back to the town. To further strengthen the belief of the people in the arrival of the English, he hired all the best houses along the river-bank and had them prepared for their occupation. He was sure they would come—but when? The time was pressing. How eagerly he searched the distant horizon for the English flag he longed to see, but every day he was doomed to disappointment. He won the people's hearts by his generosity, and even to this day all who knew him never cease speaking of his kindness. His endeavours to recompense the Greeks for their honesty are affecting in the extreme. He elaborated numerous plans for their escape.

These, however, were frustrated by disagreements and difficulties among those he hoped to save, and they remained to share his fate.

The final catastrophe was, according to the narrative, only precipitated by the effort to avert it, for the approach of the Nile Expedition, forced by public opinion on the hesitating counsels of the English Government, drove the besiegers on to the assault.

How the end came by the stealthy entry of the besiegers just before daybreak on the morning of Monday, January 26, through an unrepaired breach in the parapet, has often been told, though perhaps never so authoritatively as here. The wild yells which announced the presence of the assailants, awoke the sleeping city to a scene of horror such as has rarely been surpassed or equalled. Many heartrending details are given in the Father's narrative, but suffice it to say that the blood fury of the fanatics was only satiated by the massacre of 10,000 human beings, whose headless corpses filled the streets, where they were left unburied until the plunder had been distributed. The survivors might perhaps have envied their fate, for a cruel enslavement was their lot, and many women became utterly blind from continuous weeping over the losses they had sustained.

Gordon was spared the sight of these miseries, for he fell at the first spear-thrust on the staircase of the palace to which the earliest rush was made. The missionaries had fortunately been withdrawn before the siege, in December 1883, by Mgr. Francesco Sogaro, the successor of Mgr. Comboni, who died in October 1881.

The captured city was divided between hundreds of emirs and mukuddums, each of whom planted his flag in the quarter captured by his men. Then came the work of sharing the wretched prisoners, principally women, amid harrowing scenes of woe. The Mahdi had the first choice, followed by the three Khalifas, after whom come the emirs and other officers in order of their rank. All booty not furtively secreted was carried to the public treasury, where the glut of money was so great as to reduce the value of the sovereign to two and a half dollars. It was while these tragedies were being enacted that the vanguard of the English Expedition by a terrible irony of

fortune, the bitterest demonstration of what might have been, reached Khartoum just forty-eight hours too late. The prodigies of valour, energy, and endurance performed by men and officers in the advance, could not compensate for the initial error of the tardiness of their despatch, and the irrevocable stroke of doom once more knelled its mocking sentence on human hopes and calculations. Father Ohrwalder's remarks on this subject are painful, but perhaps wholesome reading for the English public, so difficult to rouse to a sense of responsibility for the conduct of events at a distance :

Had the Khartoum people but seen one Englishman with their own eyes they would have taken fresh courage, and would in all probability have held out another month, until the relief for which they had waited so long was a *fait accompli*. The Mahdi would not have dared to assault Khartoum; and even if he had, it is most probable he would have been beaten back. Many survivors of Khartoum often said to me, "Had we seen one Englishman we should have been saved, but our doubt that the English were really coming, and the feeling that Gordon must be deceiving us, made us discouraged, and we felt that death would be preferable to the life of constant war and daily suffering we were leading during the siege."

The unaccountable delay of the English was the cause of the fall of Khartoum, the death of Gordon, and the fate of the Soudan. The Mahdi only made up his mind to attack when he heard that they had delayed at Gubat. He did not begin to cross over his troops until the 24th of January, and it was not till Sunday night that the crossing was complete. He could not have attacked earlier than he did. When the first news of his defeat at Abu Klea reached him, he wished to raise the siege and retire to Kordofan. If the English had appeared at any time before he delivered the attack, he would have raised the siege and retired. Indeed, it was always his intention to revisit El Obeid before he made his attack.

Even to the present day people in the Soudan cannot understand the reason for the delay. Some say that the English general was wounded at Abu Klea, and was lying insensible, and that those who were acting for him did not dare to undertake any operations until he was sufficiently recovered to be able to give his orders.

Such were the speculations of the sufferers by this lamentable failure, those prisoners who, we read, after their release, were allowed to live by begging, and who, accustomed as they were to lives of comparative luxury, mostly died off of disease induced by the hardships and privations they were thus condemned to.

Nor did the victors escape retribution for their cruelty. The neglect of agriculture for war produced famine, and in its train came pestilence, so that the unhappy country was ravaged by the dreadful triple scourges of the divine wrath. Fever and other diseases were followed by a terrible epidemic of small-pox, the contagion of which was diffused through the most distant provinces by those seeking to escape from it.

The Mahdi himself did not long survive his culminating triumph, and it even indirectly led to his end. The life of indolence and excess to which he gave way when all necessity for self-restraint was thereby removed, brought on fatty degeneration of the heart, of which he died on June 22, 1885, within six months of the fall of Khartoum.

Thus ended [says Father Ohrwalder] a man who left behind him a hundred thousand murdered men, women, and children, hundreds of devastated towns and villages, poverty and famine. Upon his devoted head lies the curse of his people whom he had forced into a wild and fanatical war, which brought indescribable ruin upon the country, and exposed his countrymen to the rule of a cruel tyrant from whom it was impossible to free themselves.

He left to his successor, the Khalifa Abdulla, an empire stretching from the Bahr el Ghazal to the Second Cataract, and from Darfur to the Red Sea, still further consolidated almost immediately after his death by the fall of Sennar and Kassala, which had held out till then.

Fathers Bonomi and Ohrwalder had, previous to these events, been carried back to El Obeid, and experienced great kindness while there from Lupton Bey, ex-Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal, himself a prisoner. Thence the former succeeded in making good his escape, with the assistance of an Arab employed for the purpose by a compatriot in Egypt. The grief and despair of Father Ohrwalder at being left behind in captivity may be imagined, but as he was not known to be in El Obeid at the time, arrangements had been made for the rescue of only one.

When he returned to Khartoum, in April 1886, the ex-capital of the Soudan was a heap of ruins, already covered with a scrub of acacia and thorn. Its destruction had been decreed by the Khalifa through jealousy of the Ashraf, or nobles settled there, out of reach of his immediate supervision.

The command was given that all should evacuate the town within three days, and on the fourth the work of its destruction began. The houses were pulled down, and some of their materials transported to Omdurman, so that with the exception of the arsenal, mission-house, and Gordon's palace, there was not left of it a stone upon a stone.

Omdurman, where a beehive town of straw huts had sprung up, girdling the headquarters of the Mahdi, continued to wax as its rival waned, and enjoyed a certain amount of squalid prosperity. It had a market, where goods displayed by day were removed for safety to their owners' houses at night, and Greeks, Jews, and Syrians made a living by ministering to the primary necessities of their less sophisticated neighbours. The treasury was full of corn and slaves, and the only tax levied was the zekka, or alms for the poor, amounting to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The Mahdi had instituted a mint where gold and silver coinage was struck in his name, the specie being furnished by the plunder of Khartoum. There was also a more primitive currency of pieces of cloth of various recognised values, but these became so ragged and greasy in course of circulation that they had to be withdrawn, as even the authority of the Khalifa could not continue to compel their acceptance. A profit of 50 per cent. was made by the coinage of silver, in what were known as "Makbul" dollars, since that word, signifying "accepted," was stamped upon them. Foreign coins of various denominations, such as the Medjidie and Maria Theresa dollar, were also current, and among them the English sovereign, known as "khayala," (cavalry) from the St. George on the obverse. In the face of so much foreign competition, the Government coinage was maintained at par only by violent interference with the natural laws of exchange. The merchants having made difficulties about accepting it, Abdullah had all the goods in the market seized by his officers, and sequestered for fourteen days, after addressing the following curious remonstrance to their owners: "That unbeliever, Gordon, induced merchants to accept miserable bits of paper as equivalents for money, and I now offer you silver, and you won't even take it." This *coup d'état* naturally had the desired effect of rehabilitating the depreciated currency, and the "Makbul" dollar thenceforward

justified its name by continuing to pass unquestioned as legal tender.

The fatal fortune of war, which had given an empire to the Mahdi, continued to smile on his successor, and the hideous tale of conquest and massacre under Abdullah, never adequately told before, runs almost uninterruptedly through Father Ohrwalder's pages. The course of the war in Abyssinia, resulting in the defeat and death of King John, rendered him temporarily master of a rich and prosperous country through which he carried fire and sword, followed by pestilence and famine. Various movements of revolt against his authority among the Arab tribes in the Soudan were punished by their extermination, and the unsuccessful rebels were strung up by dozens on improvised gallows in Khartoum.

By a stroke of the Khalifa's pen all the towns and villages on the Blue Nile, as far south as Karkoj, were depopulated, the decree which compelled their unfortunate inhabitants to migrate to Omdurman raising the population of that pseudo-capital to 150,000 souls. This was in 1888, and in the following year a terrible famine devastated the land, as the result of these and other arbitrary measures. Scenes of indescribable horror were enacted in Omdurman itself, while in the provinces whole districts were depopulated and tribes of 40,000 and 87,000 dwindled to 4,000 and 10,000 respectively. These sufferings had no effect in softening the heart of the monster Abdullah, who restricted his benefactions to the Baggara Arabs, cherished by him as the pillars of his empire.

During these various disasters the Europeans who had fallen into the hands of the Mahdi and Khalifa, underwent many vicissitudes of fortune. Lupton Bey and a German named Neufeld were for a time employed in the manufacture of cartridges, after enduring the terrible experience of imprisonment in Khartoum. The missionary captives were leading a life of great hardship and penury, cheered from time to time by hopes of rescue or escape. Father Ohrwalder, who had been released from slavery in 1886, lived at first with a Greek who gave him generous hospitality, but after eight months built a hut for himself, and shared the fortunes of a lay-

brother who kept a small shop in the market-place. He then went into partnership with Lupton Bey in a soap factory, but the sudden death of the latter in May 1888 brought this speculation to an end. The Father's inventiveness then suggested to him the idea of making hooks out of telegraph wire which the sisters sewed on to purses and headdresses, but the business ceased to be a lucrative one when the novelty wore off, and the caprice of Soudanese fashion turned in some other direction. It then occurred to him in his desperation to try and learn how to make the ribbons with which the women in Omdurman ornamented their trailing garments, but the pursuit of this branch of knowledge was beset with formidable difficulties, as the men in the trade required a fee of forty or fifty dollars, in this case prohibitive, for teaching it. The missionary, however, was not to be baffled, and by unravelling the ribbon and closely studying its make, he actually succeeded in teaching himself how to weave it. He found the work very trying, and in the beginning could only by a hard day's toil turn out four yards, value four piastres, out of which he had to purchase the thread. With continuous practice, he managed at the end of the month to manufacture sixteen yards a day, which brought in sufficient money for the necessities of life—that is to say, dhurra bread and boiled vegetables, without oil, butter, or meat. The mission sisters were at this time able to earn a precarious living by needlework, an industry in which, however, there was severe competition, from the number of women reduced to support themselves in the same way by the disasters of the country.

During all these years the good Archbishop, Mgr. Sogaro, had never lost sight of the fate of his hapless children, and continued to make unremitting efforts for their deliverance. He interceded on their behalf with all Governments, Moslem and Christian, and kept one of his missionaries constantly stationed on the Egyptian frontier, where they relieved each other by turns, in order to seize any possible opportunity of communicating with them. Many attempts failed through the bad faith of the native emissaries, which is the less to be wondered at as the transport of letters endangered the lives of both bearers and recipients, while the escape of a lay-brother by the Nile route to Berber, caused the

Khalifa to exercise a closer surveillance over the remaining Europeans.

In the autumn of 1891 their prospects were gloomy in the extreme, and hardship and penury had reduced them all to the last extremity of weakness and disease. The work at the loom had begun to tell on Father Ohrwalder's health, so as to bring on hæmorrhage from the lungs with great emaciation, and the nerves of all were so shattered by the sufferings they had undergone that they trembled at the slightest noise, and started at every knock at the door. On October 4, 1891, the little band were still further depressed by the death of one of their number. Sister Concetta Corsi, who had long been in a low state of health, was carried off by typhus fever, and as her companions laid her remains with a short prayer in the warm sand of the desert outside the town, they envied her release from a life of hopeless misery.

But the hour of their deliverance was at hand, when hope, long deferred, had died within them, and on October 28 its instrument appeared when least expected. Some months previously a young Ababdeh Arab, named Ahmed Hassan, had sought an interview with Father Ohrwalder and volunteered to carry a letter for him to Mgr. Sogaro, and after some hesitation he had entrusted him with one, though with little hope of its reaching its destination. This man now reappeared, and told him that all arrangements had been made for their escape. There is no more thrilling story in the annals of adventure, real or fictitious, than that of the flight that followed, as recounted in Father Ohrwalder's simple and graphic narrative.

The number of fugitives to be arranged for was now reduced to four, Father Ohrwalder himself, two Italian sisters, Caterina Chincarini and Elisabetta Venturini, and a little black slave girl, named Adila, born in the mission-house at Khartoum and given back to the missionaries after having been sold into slavery. It was absolutely necessary to take her with the party, as their evasion would otherwise have been discovered. The Arab had been given £100 with which to purchase camels, and had also engaged two other Arabs as guides, one from Berber, and one from Korosko. The time seemed favourable for the attempt to escape, as a combination against the tyranny of Abdullah had been formed by the two other Khalifas, Sherif

and Ali Wad Helu, which threw the town into a state of ferment and excitement. Under cover of these disturbances, Ahmed succeeded in buying four good camels at from 120 to 150 dollars apiece, which he then distributed among his friends to keep and feed for him, as it was necessary to conceal the fact that they were in his possession. The days intervening before all was ready for the start were a time of terrible suspense for the captives, and the fever of excitement they were in rendered it impossible to eat or sleep. During this interval an important piece of news came to the ears of Ahmed—viz., that in consequence of the critical state of politics, all the riding camels of the Government had been despatched with messengers to the provinces, rendering immediate pursuit impossible if the party once got clear away.

At last, on a Sunday night, the supreme moment arrived, and Ahmed came to summon the party to mount without delay and ride for their lives. Carrying some few belongings, they stumbled through the darkness to the rendezvous, were helped hurriedly on their camels, and started off on their ride of 500 miles across the deserts.

Not thirty yards from where we were [says the narrative] was a well around which a number of female slaves were gathered, but the little noise we made was drowned by their laughter. The moment of mounting was perhaps the most dangerous time, for the camels were restive and longing to be off. It was with the greatest difficulty the Arabs could keep their mouths closed, and no sooner were we on their backs than we glided swiftly away into the darkness. Now and then we saw fires, at which the people were cooking their food, or sitting around gossiping; but fortunately it was a cold night, so most of the people were in their huts. We passed the spot where we had laid the poor sister who had recently died: it was sad to think she was not with us now. We kept steadily moving forward; not a word had passed our lips; the camels had been well fed upon dhurra, and we could scarcely hold them in. I tried to peer through the darkness, while my ear was ready to catch the slightest sound of possible pursuers.

Soon we had left Omdurman far behind, and in the soft sand-bed of Khor Shambat we dismounted to have our saddles rearranged; then we mounted again, and pursued our journey at a rapid pace northward along the river-bank. We were in all seven persons and four camels; the guide Ahmed Hassan, his two friends, Hamed and Awad; Sister Caterina Chincarini and Sister Elisabetta Venturini; myself and Adila.

All night long they rode, sometimes through thorn bushes

and mimosa shrub, still northward along the bank of the river, swerving from the track only when the barking of dogs gave them notice to avoid a village, and with hope that rose ever higher as the lengthening miles separated them from the hated capital of the Mahdists. So swift was the pace, that at day-break they neared a village, Wad Bishara, generally reckoned as two days' journey from Khartoum. The growing light now warned them to turn aside from the river path, which is there the highway of traffic, and push on through the desert, up and down hills, and across long stretches of sand. A momentary halt was made for a frugal meal of biscuit and water, then once more into the saddle and on again. One of the sisters fell from her camel, fainting or insensible; she was picked up, splashed with water, and made fast to it with ropes while they rode continuously forward, in the desert by day, and on the river-bank by night. No sight or sound betokened pursuit, and Ahmed was able to avert the suspicions of the few wandering Arabs they met by describing in exaggerated terms the disturbances in Omdurman, and representing the party as fugitives from the consequent perils and disorders. They watered at the wells of Gubat where the English Expedition had encamped, and skirted the great village of Metemmeh, the capital of the Jaalin Arabs. All this time they halted only for such brief pause as was required to snatch a hurried meal of dates, biscuits and water, and to allow the camels to consume their ration of dhurra. On the third day they came in sight of Berber, and after cautiously descending to the river-bank to replenish their water skins, made for the desert again.

A critical point of their journey was now approaching, for the Nile had to be crossed, entailing delay and a certain amount of publicity. Fortune again favoured the fugitives: two boys were seen with a large boat, who consented to ferry them across, and after watering the camels they set their faces northwards once more. They had now been four days on the road, and during the whole of that night and the next day they rode on without adventure or mishap, through a lonely desert where antelopes, rabbits, and hyenas were seen, but no human beings. At this stage of the journey, the wonderful endurance of the camels was severely tried, and they began to show signs of fatigue. Their humps had shrunk and become flaccid, while

the racing speed at which they had started was exchanged for a dull plodding gait to which they had to be urged by the whip, so that Father Ohrwalder and the guides often dismounted and walked, in order to relieve them. The weather too had become oppressively hot, and the deceptive mirage, the Bahr-esh-Sheitan, or "River of Satan" as the Arabs call it, was frequently seen.

The greatest danger they encountered was at Meshra Dehesh, the last watering-place before entering on the passage of the Korosko Desert, about six miles north of Abu Hamed. Here a frontier guard of the Khalifa wanted to insist on taking them before the emir of the latter place, and though he was eventually bought off, the incident lent wings to their flight by reminding them that they were still within the dominions of the Mahdist empire. The sun burnt fiercely hot as they rode over bare hills and through solitary valleys, striking that evening the trail of what had been the great caravan route from Abu Hamed to Korosko, now deserted, but still marked by the bleaching bones of animals which had perished by the way. The greatest suffering the party had to undergo was from the want of sleep, and the necessity for resisting the heavy drowsiness which overcame them in spite of all devices for keeping it at bay. In vain they tried to shout and talk, or pinched themselves until the blood came; they dozed off from time to time until effectually roused up by nearly dropping from their saddles, while sandy plains and rocky gorges formed a series of nightmare dissolving views unrolled before their clouded brains. But safety was now at hand, for they were nearing the Egyptian frontier station, where rest, food, and welcome were awaiting them.

Just before sunset [says Father Ohrwalder] we turned down the khor which leads to Murat. The fort covering the wells was visible on the hills, surmounted by the red flag with the white crescent and star in the centre. "Ahmed," I cried, "greet the flag of freedom!" And our courageous deliverer seized his gun and fired shot after shot into the air, to announce our arrival to the Egyptian garrison. The echo of these shots resounded again and again in the deep valleys, as if joining with us in our joy at deliverance from the hands of the cruel Khalifa Abdullah. They seemed to announce the "release of our spirits from beneath his sheep-skin." This was an expression which the Khalifa delighted to use when speaking of his captured enemies, whose souls, he said, lay beneath his "furwa," meaning that their lives were entirely in his hands.

The reports of our rifles had at first caused some stir in the little garrison, who feared a sudden attack, and had come out fully armed ; but they soon recognised us, and answered our salute by discharging their guns in the air. These good people received us most kindly, asked us a thousand questions, and surrounding us, brought us to the commandant's hut. Here, on the 8th of December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, we alighted from our camels, and the hopes which kept us alive for years were at last realised. This supreme moment, about which we had so often talked with our companions in adversity, which we had thought about, dreamed about, and pictured to ourselves—this delicious moment had come at last, and we were free!

They had ridden 500 miles in seven days, almost without rest or sleep, in that terrible time-race, with life and liberty as the prize. They owed both to the skill and fidelity of their Arab guide, as well as to the extraordinary speed and endurance of the camels he had purchased for them. The breakdown of one of these animals would have been fatal, as delay in their case meant inevitable death. Even sleep was banished for a while by the excitement of deliverance, and they sat talking over their adventures with the Arabs, to whom, hardy as they are, the feat of such a journey seemed incredible. After a day's rest, they were able nevertheless to mount again, and pursue their way to Korosko, where the Nile was struck once more, on December 13. Here their wild wanderings ended, for a steamer conveyed them thence to Cairo, and civilisation welcomed them as returned from worse than the grave.

The promised and well-earned reward of £420 was paid to Ahmed Hassan, whose sagacity and foresight had averted all the many dangers of the flight. So well had it been contrived, that the Khalifa, when it was discovered, could learn no news of them along the road, and time was lost by his agents in searching some of the boats bound to Berber. This delay, added to that caused by the necessity for purchasing camels for the pursuit, rendered the latter hopeless from the first, and it was abandoned when it was found that no tidings of the fugitives could be obtained at Metemmeh.

Thus closes for the moment the history of the Missions in the Soudan, since neither the moral nor the material redemption of that unhappy country seems within view at present. How great is its need of deliverance from the dreadful tyranny under which

it groans may be learned from every page of Father Ohrwalder's narrative, which is an exhaustive repertory of information, both as to its actual condition and history during the past ten years. With this mass of valuable information, which he alone is in a position to furnish, is combined the interest of a story of personal adventure such as has fallen to the lot of few travellers, and of strange experiences which, however exceptional, none, we think, will be found to envy. His gifts of keen observation and discriminating power of ordering and selecting the most striking facts, brought to bear on a situation of tragical singularity, have resulted in the production of a book unique of its kind, and well worthy of the permanent place it has attained in contemporary literature.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

## ART. V.—BISHOP LIGHTFOOT AND THE EARLY ROMAN SEE.

### II.

**I**N our former article\* it was shown that Bishop Lightfoot recognised these facts concerning St. Peter and the Early Roman Church :

I. Our Lord gave St. Peter a primacy among the Apostles, and the action of this primacy may be seen in the early stages of the history of the Apostolic Church.

II. St. Peter visited Rome and was martyred there.

III. At the close of the first century the Roman Church had a "precedence" or "primacy" among the Churches of Christendom, which becomes more and more distinctly marked during the course of the next two centuries.

It was seen, moreover, that Bishop Lightfoot puts forward three other propositions, each correlated to one of these three statements of fact, and having the practical effect, if established, of neutralising their doctrinal significance.

The first of these correctives was dealt with at some length. The arguments relied on to establish the theory that St. Peter's primacy was transient—a mere "primacy of historical inauguration," which lapsed of itself on the reception of the Gentiles into the Church—were tested in order, and it was found after the examination that one survived, an argument from the silence of the second part of the Acts about St. Peter. It was then shown how inadequate and even fallacious this argument is. Thus the first of Bishop Lightfoot's correctives fails, there being no evidence of any withdrawal of the prerogative conferred upon St. Peter by Christ. We have now to consider the questions raised as to the nature and consequences of St. Peter's historical connection with the Roman Church.

The second of Bishop Lightfoot's positions may be thus formulated :

---

\* DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1893.

II. Though in Rome, St. Peter never was Bishop of Rome. This is what Bishop Lightfoot brings forward in support of his view :

Was S. Peter Bishop of Rome at all? He might have been founder or joint founder of the Church there, without having been regarded as its bishop. No one reckons S. Paul as first bishop of Thessalonica or Philippi, of Corinth or of Athens, though these Churches owe their first evangelisation to him.

Now I cannot find that any writers for the first two centuries and more speak of S. Peter as bishop of Rome. Indeed their language is inconsistent with the assignment of this position to him. When Dionysius of Corinth speaks of the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul as jointly planting the two Churches of Corinth and of Rome, he obviously cannot mean this; for otherwise he would point to a divided episcopate. The language of Irenæus (iii. 3. 3) again is still more explicit. He describes the Church of Rome as founded by the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, who appointed Linus bishop. After him came Linus [*sic*]; after Linus, Anencletus; after Anencletus "in the *third* place from the Apostles Clement is elected to the bishopric," and the others, when any numbers are given, are numbered accordingly, so that Xystus is "the sixth from the Apostles," and Eleutherus, the contemporary of Irenæus, "holds the office of the episcopate in the twelfth place from the Apostles." This is likewise the enumeration in the anonymous author of the treatise against Artemon (Euseb. H. E. v. 28), probably Hippolytus, who numbers Victor "the thirteenth from Peter."\*

These were the last words Bishop Lightfoot ever wrote. But in another place he has developed more fully the argument founded on the words of St. Irenæus. He there says Irenæus "separates the apostolic founders of the Roman Church from the bishops, and begins the numbering of the latter with Linus"; and that Eusebius "in the numbering of the several bishops always omits the Apostolic founder or founders from the reckoning."†

Here it is laid down that the language of the writers of the first two centuries and more is "inconsistent" with the assignment to St. Peter of the position of Bishop of Rome. We must therefore in the first place see what are the precise terms of the passages on which this statement is based :

Irenæus: "After Anencletus in the third place from the Apostles Clement is appointed to the episcopate"; "Xystus is appointed sixth

---

\* "Clem. Rom.," ii. 501, 502.  
[No. 8 of Fourth Series.]

† *Ibid.*, i. 204, 207.  
3 I

from the Apostles"; "Now in the twelfth place from the Apostles Eleutherus holds the office of the episcopate."

Hippolytus (?): Victor was "thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter."

Eusebius: "First after Peter, Linus obtained the episcopate of the Church of the Romans"; "Clement held the third place of those who were bishops in Rome after Paul and Peter"; "Telesphorus received the bishopric seventh from the Apostles."\*

To test whether such language really is inconsistent with the episcopate of the Apostles let us take analogous modes of expression. "First after the Conqueror, William Rufus obtained the Crown of England; after Henry I., in the third place from the Conqueror, Stephen is appointed to the throne; Henry V. was the thirteenth King of England from the Conqueror." In an indifferent case like this all will be ready to admit that such language is not "inconsistent" with the belief that William the Conqueror was King of England, and that it cannot be held to "separate" him from the line of kings. Turning now to the case in hand, a single fact will probably to most minds be enough to show that Bishop Lightfoot's interpretation is not one imposed by the texts in question; for a critic like Lipsius, though believing Eusebius to be mistaken as to the fact, thinks that by his words about Linus, just quoted, the Roman episcopate of St. Peter is "expressly asserted."† It will be seen that the passages quoted from Irenæus, Hippolytus (?), and Eusebius are perfectly parallel, and it is impossible to make a real distinction in thought between them. If such contrary interpretations can be given by qualified critics, and if in a parallel case, such as that instanced above, no inconsistency is found, it would appear that Bishop Lightfoot has been somewhat precipitate in inferring from such language in itself exclusion or separation.

But we must go a step further forward and point out that Irenæus is urging against heretics, as a palmary argument, the authority of apostolic teaching and tradition as handed down in churches founded by Apostles, and showing how that apostolic authority in these churches is to be arrived at. He does not say in general terms, "Hear the Church of Rome, because it was founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul"; but

---

\* "Clem. Rom.," i. 156, 204, 206, 207, 271.

† "Dictionary of Christian Biography," i. 26.

he expressly narrows the source of authority by placing the evidence and guarantee of the tradition in the succession of bishops, as the channel whereby it flowed from its apostolic fountain-head. Now the force of his argument depends precisely on the fact that there is no break, above all at the critical point of contact with the Apostles. And so it is impossible to suppose that Irenæus had in mind any idea of separating the apostolic founders of the Roman Church from the line of bishops.

But to pass from the mere criticism of forms of expression and of run of thought to the substance of the matter. The language of Irenæus and Eusebius in speaking of the bishops of Rome (and Eusebius does the same in the case of other Apostolic Sees, *e.g.*, Antioch and Alexandria), as being the third or the twelfth "from the Apostles," can be satisfactorily accounted for on two hypotheses, and on two only: either the apostles were bishops, and something more than mere bishops, or else they were not bishops at all. The latter would be Bishop Lightfoot's explanation, for to him—

The episcopate was formed not out of the apostolic order by localisation, but out of the presbyterial by elevation. . . . The functions of the Apostle and the bishop differed widely. The Apostle . . . held no *local* office. He was essentially, as his name denotes, a missionary, moving about from place to place, founding and confirming new brotherhoods. . . . It is not, therefore, to the apostle that we must look for the prototype of the bishop. How far indeed and in what sense the bishop may be called a successor of the Apostles will be a proper subject for consideration: but the succession at least does not consist in an identity of office.\*

The promise here held out was not fulfilled; but as to Bishop Lightfoot's opinion there can be no doubt; it is summed up in the marginal note: "Bishops: the office not a continuation of the apostolate"; and still more categorically in the index: "Apostles not bishops."

It would be impossible to enter here on any discussion of the Christian ministry in apostolic times—a question on which a recent Catholic writer well says: "To some the ecclesiastical organisation in this early age seems full-blown episcopalianism;

---

\* "Dissertations," 154, 155. The author's view underwent no modification to the end (*Ibid.*, 242, 243).

to others stark presbyterianism; while others see in it democracy pure and simple. Of course, unless there were a large field over which speculation might freely roam, such strange diversity would be impossible."\* But it may be observed that Bishop Lightfoot seems never to have faced the other alternative—viz., whether the apostles were bishops and something more, and whether the difference between the two was one of degree and circumstances rather than kind. It must be remembered that he holds that neither apostles, bishops, nor presbyters were priests, and that the sacerdotal conception of the Christian ministry is a later perversion.† In his eyes all Christian ministers have, from the beginning, been merely officers; and, of course, from this point of view, there can be no question as to "character," but only as to "functions," and a difference of function would constitute a difference of office.‡ Of course, if none of the apostles were bishops, it logically follows that St. Peter was not Bishop of Rome. But persons who quote Bishop Lightfoot's authority for the statement that St. Peter was not Bishop of Rome, must bear in mind his premisses. This, however, is hardly an historical settlement of the question.

Let it therefore be considered what would be the natural position of an apostle residing in a church, either permanently or for a notable period of time. Clement of Alexandria gives a description of St. John's life at Ephesus, which Bishop Lightfoot accepts as authentic, and thus sums up: "Here he gathered disciples about him, ordained bishops and presbyters, founded new churches, making Ephesus his headquarters, but visiting the neighbouring districts as occasion required."§ St. Clement of Rome also tells us that the apostles, "preaching everywhere in country and town, appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and

---

\* Schanz, "Apology," iii. 145 (trans.).

† "Dissertations," 210-238.

‡ It is curious that Bishop Lightfoot did not see that if there be any representative of the Apostle in the existing Church, even from the mere point of view of functions, it is the Catholic bishop, within the limits of his diocese. Of course in the Anglican Church this is much obscured on the one hand by the survival of late mediæval ecclesiastical conditions as to benefices, and on the other by the narrowed and weakened conception of the bishop's position in the Church and his office.

§ "Ign. and Polyc.," i. 440.

deacons unto them that should believe.”\* That an apostle, wherever he was, would ordain to the ministry can hardly need formal proof. By the very nature of things the apostle would be the teacher and guide of the community in which he lived ; to him all would instinctively turn to make known the truth in all difficulties of doctrine and practice ; he would take the leading part at meetings, whether for worship and prayer, or for other purposes ; he would direct everything, and be in the fullest sense the ruler of that church. In a word, he would be the source and centre of all authority and spiritual power, the chief and immediate pastor of the flock. Even though “absent in body,” St. Paul stood in a position much like this to the Corinthian Church. And what is all this but a description of the episcopal office in the exercise of its twofold powers of order and jurisdiction, in the only sense conceivable in those primitive times.†

Putting aside, as of course we are bound to do in the present case, the concurrent testimony and belief of the Church from the third century, and restricting ourselves to the narrow and technical ground which the discussion raised here imposes upon us, the question practically resolves itself into this : Did St. Peter take up his residence in Rome for a period of time sufficient for the assumption and exercise of the apostolic and episcopal position and powers ?

According to Bishop Lightfoot, St. Paul arrived in Rome in the spring of 61. After two years’ imprisonment he was released, and Bishop Lightfoot gives what seem very strong reasons for supposing he then left Rome.‡ After an interval he returned and was martyred, probably in 67. During St. Paul’s absence, Bishop Lightfoot would place St. Peter’s visit to Rome, thus accounting for the fact that no mention of him is made by the writer of the Acts, or by St. Paul in the various epistles written during his imprisonment. St. Peter’s stay in Rome he would limit to a few months, supposing that he

\* “Ep. ad Cor.,” § 42 ; *cf.* also St. Paul’s Pastoral Epistles.

† The root of Bishop Lightfoot’s difficulties lies in the fact that he is unable to conceive of a “bishop” in any other sense than the one which is exhausted by the statement that regiment by bishops is historically an apostolic institution, and (if people will proceed further) so far “divine.” That is to say, episcopacy is recommended merely historically but not doctrinally.

‡ “Clem. Rom.,” ii. 30 (note).

arrived there in the second half of 63 and was martyred in the following year.\* Thus, on our author's theory, the two apostles were not in Rome at the same time. He thinks that St. Peter had never visited Rome before this occasion. Other writers, of course, think that the phenomena of the case postulate an earlier visit, and that St. Peter was the founder of the Roman Church. Into this question we shall not enter, for whether St. Peter dwelt in Rome twenty-five years, or only one, is a matter of complete indifference to the point under investigation.†

St. Peter in Rome would ordain ministers like any other Apostle, as occasion arose. He would be ruler of the church there. Of this St. Ignatius gives testimony, saying to the Romans, "I will not command you, like Peter and Paul."‡ Even curtailing his stay in Rome to the narrowest possible limits, and making it to have been only a few months, that would allow ample time for him to have exercised the episcopal office; the fact of his staying till his death favours the idea that he had taken up his permanent residence there; lastly, there was no other apostle in Rome at the time. From all that has been said, we think it appears that the nature of the case points strongly to the conclusion that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome in a very true sense, a conclusion in accord with the early tradition of the Roman Church itself.

For, if Bishop Lightfoot's surmise, which he seems to support by good reasons, and which is accepted by Dr. Salmon,§ is true, viz., that the list of Roman bishops given by St. Epiphanius is none other than the one drawn up at Rome by

\* "Clem. Rom.," ii. 497.

† But one curious fact we must point out. Bishop Lightfoot says: "The Epistle to the Romans was written about A.D. 58. During this period no Apostle had visited the metropolis of the world. If silence can ever be regarded as decisive, its verdict must be accepted in this case. S. Paul could not have written as he writes to the Romans (i. 11 *seq.*, xv. 20-24), if they had received even a short visit from an Apostle, more especially if that Apostle were S. Peter" ("Clem. Rom.," ii. 491). Thus Bishop Lightfoot; on the other hand, Baur thought this same passage (Rom. xv. 20-24) contained such unanswerable evidence of St. Peter's *having* being in Rome, that while accepting the Epistle to the Romans as genuine, he characteristically declared the fifteenth chapter to be spurious (Hagemann, "Die Römische Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten," 659). This contrast we venture to think is an instructive lesson on the dangers of subjective criticism and of the argument from silence.

‡ "Epistle to the Romans," § 4.

§ "Infallibility of the Church," 359.

Hegesippus, then we have a writer in the middle of the second century thus recording the tradition of the Roman Church itself as to the succession of its bishops: "Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, Clement," and so forth.\*

It will have been noticed that the passages from Ignatius and Irenæus, and still more formally the one just quoted, tell equally strongly in favour of the idea that St. Paul also had been bishop of Rome. Bishop Lightfoot once looked with some favour on the hypothesis that in the beginning two Christian communities, a Jewish and a Gentile, each with its own bishop, co-existed in Rome, and that they were united under St. Clement; but in his later years he rejected this idea.† According to his account, the two apostles were never in Rome at the same time; and so there need be no difficulty about "a divided episcopate." The peculiar circumstances of St. Paul's life and vocation suggest reasons why, as Bishop Lightfoot points out, he is not reckoned as first bishop of churches like Corinth and Philippi, which owed their first evangelisation to him. His life was that of a wandering missionary, travelling ceaselessly from city to city, founding churches wherever he went, and then passing on and leaving it to others to develop and govern the communities he established. "I planted; Apollos watered." Even as regards Rome, though his stay was prolonged, it was the involuntary detention of a prisoner on parole, and he ever looked forward

---

\* "Clem. Rom." i. 327-333. Mr. Puller, in his "Primitive Saints and the Roman See," says: "The real inventor of the story of St. Peter's Roman episcopate appears to have been the unknown heretic who wrote the romance" [*i.e.*, the Clementine Recognitions]; adding in a note, "apparently Bishop Lightfoot agrees" in this view. In the passage referred to by Mr. Puller, Bishop Lightfoot says nothing of the kind, nor anything at all like it. Indeed, it may be said without offence that Mr. Puller's treatment of the Recognitions is proper to pass muster with those only (and they are doubtless the majority) who know nothing of the subject. In contrast with Mr. Puller's convenient polemical certainties, it may be well to listen to the words of a master on such matters. "In regard to this document almost everything is still shrouded in obscurity. The one point on which some years ago there seemed agreement—viz., as to its originating c. 150-170—is not only open to the gravest objections, but can be shown to be erroneous. In their present form the Recognitions and Homilies belong, not to the second century, but to the first half of the third; nor is there anything which hinders our placing them some twenty years later." So Harnack ("Dogmengeschichte," i. 266), who cites as agreeing in this view Zahn, Lagarde, Lipsius, and Weingarten. Under these circumstances a revision of so much of Mr. Puller's book as is concerned with the Clementine documents would seem desirable.

† *Ibid.*, i. 68.

to leaving Rome as soon as he could (Philip. i. 25, ii. 24; Philemon, 22). Left to himself, and not under the control of circumstances, doubtless in themselves providential, his residence in Rome would have been but a passing call (Rom. xv. 24, 28). With the comparative freedom of "his own hired dwelling," he would naturally exercise apostolic powers, especially if no other apostle were there at the time; but on his enlargement he probably left Rome. Thus, it is easy to see, on the one hand, how St. Paul came to be counted among her bishops by the tradition of the Roman Church in the middle of the second century, as recorded by Hegesippus and Irenæus; and on the other hand, how he fell out of the list not long after, as appears from the catalogue of Hippolytus, c. 230.\* These circumstances really present no difficulty whatever: they do not affect the question whether St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. So far as that point is concerned, the question whether or no St. Paul also was one of her bishops, is a matter of complete indifference; if he was, that is but an additional glory.

The fact of the matter is that a vast deal of more or less learned dust has been raised on the point; all that is wanted is a little straight looking at the facts, so far as they are known, and the likelihoods of the case, and then a plain common-sense judgment. Such a process will, we believe, lead most men to the conclusion that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome in an adequate sense. Let Dr. Lipsius speak, a sturdy rationalist, who has made a special study of the early Roman Church and her bishops:

If ever the Prince of the Apostles set foot in the eternal city, he certainly did not go as a simple traveller, but in virtue of his apostolic power; and his martyrdom, in that case, forms but the glorious ending of his official labour among the Romans. And if, as many Protestants also hold, the episcopate is of divine institution, then the claim of the Roman Church to trace her episcopal succession back to Peter is, after all, not so very absurd.†

Having now examined into St. Peter's primacy and his Roman episcopate, we next proceed to consider Bishop Lightfoot's third position, which we thus formulated:

---

\* "Clem. Rom.," i. 258-262.

† Cited in Schanz, "Apology," iii. 476 (trans.).

III. The primacy of the Roman Church was not originally due to any primacy of her bishops, but to other causes; and the later primacy of the Bishop of Rome grew out of the early primacy of his Church.

The following extracts, in which the author deals with the letters of St. Clement and St. Ignatius, contain his argument on this head. St. Ignatius' letter to the Romans

is addressed to the Church of Rome. It assigns to this Church a pre-eminence of rank as well as of love (inscr.). . . . With all this importance attributed to the Romish Church, it is the more remarkable that not a word is said about the Roman bishop. Indeed there is not even the faintest hint that a bishop of Rome existed at this time. To ourselves the Church of Rome has been so entirely merged in the Bishop of Rome, that this silence is the more surprising. Yet startling as this omission is, it entirely accords with the information derived from other trustworthy sources. All the ancient notices point to the mature development of episcopacy in Asia Minor at this time. On the other hand, all the earliest notices of the Church in Rome point in the opposite direction. In the Epistle of Clement, which was written a few years before these Ignatian letters purport to be penned, there is no mention of the bishop. The letter is written in the name of the Church; it speaks with the authority of the Church. It is strenuous, even peremptory, in the authoritative tone which it assumes; but it pleads the authority not of the chief minister, but of the whole body. The next document emanating from the Roman Church after the assumed date of the Ignatian Epistles, is the Shepherd of Hermas. Here again we are met with similar phenomena. If we had no other information, we should be at a loss to say what was the form of Church government at Rome when the Shepherd was written. . . . The episcopate, though doubtless it existed in some form or other in Rome, had not yet (it would seem) assumed the same sharp and well-defined monarchical character with which we are confronted in the Eastern Churches.\*

Of St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians he says:

The language of this letter, though itself inconsistent with the possession of papal authority in the person of the writer, enables us to understand the secret of the growth of papal domination. It does not proceed from the Bishop of Rome, but from the Church of Rome. There is every reason to believe the early tradition which points to S. Clement as its author, and yet he is not once named. The first person plural is maintained throughout, "We consider," "We have sent." Accordingly, writers of the second century speak of it as a letter from the community, not from the individual. [Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria.] . . . The name and personality of Clement are absorbed

---

\* "Ign. and Polyc.," i. 398, 399.

in the Church of which he is the spokesman. [Here follows the passage quoted in the previous article, contrasting Pope Victor at the end of the second century with St. Clement at the end of the first.] Even this second stage has carried the power of Rome only a very small step in advance towards the assumptions of a Hildebrand or an Innocent or a Boniface, or even of a Leo: but it is nevertheless a decided step. The substitution of the bishop of Rome for the Church of Rome is an all-important point. The later Roman theory supposes that the Church of Rome derives all its authority from the bishop of Rome, as the successor of S. Peter.\* History inverts this relation and shows that, as a matter of fact, the power of the bishop of Rome was built upon the power of the Church of Rome. It was originally a primacy, not of the episcopate, but of the church. . . . [In St. Ignatius' Letter to the Church of Rome], though Clement's letter is apparently in his mind, there is no mention of Clement or Clement's successor throughout. Yet at the same time he assigns a primacy to Rome. The church is addressed in the opening salutation as "she who hath the presidency (*προκαθῆται*) in the place of the region of the Romans." But immediately afterwards the nature of this supremacy is defined. The presidency of this Church is declared to be a presidency of love (*προκαθιμένη τῆς ἀγάπης*). This then was the original primacy of Rome—a primacy not of the bishop, but of the whole church, a primacy not of official authority but of practical goodness, backed however by the prestige and the advantages which were necessarily enjoyed by the church of the metropolis. . . . And so it remains till the close of the second century. When, some seventy years later than the date of our epistle, a second letter is written from Rome to Corinth during the episcopate of Soter (about A.D. 165–175), it is still written in the name of the Church, not the bishop, of Rome, and as such is acknowledged by Dionysius of Corinth. "We have read your letter" (*ἑμὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν*), he writes in reply to the Romans. At the same time he bears a noble testimony to that moral ascendancy of the early Roman Church which was the historical foundation of its primacy: "This hath been your practice from the beginning: to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send supplies (*ἐφόδια*) to many churches in divers cities, in one place recruiting the poverty of those that are in want, in another assisting brethren that are in the mines by the supplies that ye have been in the habit of sending to them from the first, thus keeping up, as becometh Romans, a hereditary practice of Romans, which your blessed bishop Soter hath not only maintained, but also advanced," with more to the same effect.†

The evidence recited in these extracts, based on the writings of St. Clement, St. Ignatius and Hermas, has been enough to persuade many writers of name—among them Harnack—that

\* To avoid ambiguities in view of the further treatment of the question I add "Yes; so far as *jus* is concerned."

† "Clem. Rom.," i. 69–72.

a presbyterian form of government without any monarchical bishop existed in the Roman Church until towards the middle of the second century. This view, however, need not delay us here, for Bishop Lightfoot declares definitely against it.\* Our author's matured view is that, though there was a monarchical bishop of Rome from the beginning, still "there are grounds for surmising that the bishops of Rome were not at the time raised so far above their presbyters as in the Churches of the East"; that "the episcopate, though doubtless it existed in some form or other in Rome, had not yet (it would seem) assumed the same sharp and well-defined monarchical character with which we are confronted in the Eastern Churches."†

We would be quite ready to discuss the evidence with those who maintain that there were no bishops of Rome until the middle of the second century; but really, when it becomes a mere question of the degree of monarchical character of the Roman bishops as compared with others, it seems to us that the distinction, where after all so little evidence is forthcoming, is somewhat fine-drawn; and we are therefore disposed to say *transeat*—to allow Bishop Lightfoot's contention for sake of argument. We shall therefore assume that, though the early Roman Church was the most important in Christendom, still the position of the Roman bishop, as distinct from the body of his Church, is not until the middle of the second century so prominent or clearly defined as in other Churches. Let us see how the case looks from this standpoint. It must be recollected, to adopt the words of Cardinal Newman, written in 1871, that

---

\* "It would be an excess of scepticism, with the evidence before us, to question the existence of the episcopate as a distinct office from the presbyterate in the Roman Church" [at the date of St. Ignatius' Epistles] ("Ign. and Polyc.," i. 395). Again, "Though, so far as I can see, no adequate reason can be advanced why Linus and Anencletus [the two names between St. Peter and St. Clement] should not have been bishops in the later sense, as single rulers of the Church, yet here the tradition, if unsupported by any other considerations, cannot inspire any great confidence. But with Clement the case is different. The testimony of the succeeding ages is strong and united" ("Clem. Rom.," i. 68). Lastly, "As regards the names [Linus and Anencletus] I see no reason to question that they not only represent historical persons, but that they were bishops in the sense of monarchical rulers of the Roman Church, though their monarchy may have been much less autocratic than the episcopate even of the succeeding century" ("Clem. Rom.," i. 340).

† "Ign. and Polyc.," i. 395, 399.

Ignatius witnessed and took part in the establishment of diocesan episcopacy. . . . Hitherto bishops had lived together in community, the apostles exercising a jurisdiction over the whole Church. As time went on, local jurisdiction came into use. In his last years St. Paul placed local ordinaries in Crete and Ephesus and St. John in other cities of Asia Minor, if the seven angels of the churches in the Apocalypse are bishops;\* [similarly, as has been seen, SS. Peter and Paul in Rome].

Of course bishops would not be at once appointed in every town where there was a Christian community. The gradual growth of ecclesiastical organisation in a missionary country nowadays will give some idea of what must have taken place. Some churches must have remained longer than others under the management of a presbyter or board of presbyters, and then, as Cardinal Newman goes on to say, when a bishop was appointed, the vindication of his position "was not so much the enforcement of a tradition, as the carrying out of a development." Hence it is natural to suppose that in this process of disengagement the bishop's position would not be everywhere at once fully understood; it would take some time for his authority and powers to be explicitly recognised and legally formulated; and no doubt the process would go on more rapidly in one church or locality than in another, and the full monarchical character of the episcopate would be established sooner here than there. From the mere shreds of evidence that have come down to us, Bishop Lightfoot draws the following conclusions: (1) By the middle of the second century, monarchical episcopacy was well established not only in Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, but also in Greece, Thrace, Gaul, Africa, and Alexandria, as well as Rome. (2) The development was not simultaneous and equal in all parts of Christendom. (3) It was slower in the West than in the East. (4) It appears in its mature form first in Syria and Asia Minor.† Of course all this is looking at the question from a purely historical standpoint, which is the one we desire to take up. Sharply defined monarchical episcopacy did not, so far as reliance can be placed on extant documents, first

\* "Essays, Critical and Historical," i. 251. Bishop Lightfoot does not so understand the Angels of the Churches; but for all that in many places he connects the establishment of episcopacy in Asia Minor with St. John ("The Christian Ministry").

† See the "Essay on the Christian Ministry" ("Dissertations," pp. 166-191); also "Ign. and Polyc.," i. 389-399.

manifest itself at Rome. Had it done so (it may be remarked by the way) there might be some plausibility in attributing the growth of the power and influence of the Roman bishops to personal ambition and other such causes. But historically Rome only kept pace with, perhaps even followed, what was going on all around. "The substitution of the bishop of Rome for the Church of Rome" was no anomaly; it was part of a movement in progress all over Christendom at any rate in the early second century. Everywhere the tendency was to concentrate more and more the whole authority and power of each church in the hands of the bishop, who became the representative of his church, and the monarchical ruler, absorbing in his own person whatever authority and rights had hitherto been enjoyed by the presbyterate or the community, the bishop in each case naturally inheriting the ecclesiastical position that had belonged to his church. And so there was no more aggrandisement or ambition or impropriety in the Bishop of Rome taking that place among bishops which his church had held among churches, than in a bishop of Magnesia or Tralles becoming the monarchical ruler of his own church.

We are thus brought back to the consideration of the position of the Roman Church during the first two centuries. The subject to be investigated is the nature of its primacy, which now is not questioned by any competent scholar, and the origin and reasons of it. Our author, as the foregoing extracts show, has his theories on these points. But before we come to examine them it will be well to have a clear idea of the problem that demands solution. The following chronological conspectus gives in Bishop Lightfoot's own words his conception of the position of the Roman Church and bishop during the second century.

C. A.D. 95.—St. Clement's office as Bishop of Rome was "on any showing" "exceptionally prominent" ("Clem. Rom.," i. 58, note); his position was that of "the chief ruler of the most important church in Christendom" (*Ibid.* i. 61); his Epistle to the Corinthians, not to any suburbicarian church, is "urgent and almost imperious" (*Ibid.* i. 69); "it speaks with the authority of the Church," and "is strenuous, even peremptory, in the authoritative tone it assumes" ("Ign. and Polyc.," i. 398). And so this, the first document emanating

from the Roman Church, is also "the first step towards papal domination" ("Clem. Rom.," i. 70).

C. A.D. 110.—St. Ignatius "assigns a primacy to Rome" (*Ibid.*, i. 71); he "assigns to this Church a pre-eminence of rank as well as of love" ("Ign. and Polyc.," i. 398).

C. A.D. 150.—Hegesippus and Irenæus resided for some considerable time at Rome soon after the middle of the second century ("Clem. Rom.," i. 202–3). "The succession of the bishops of Rome is with them the chief guarantee of the transmission of the orthodox doctrine" ("Ign. and Polyc.," i. 399).

C. A.D. 170.—In the Epitaph of Abercius, a Phrygian bishop, "we shall naturally interpret the queen as denoting the Roman Church" ("Ign. and Polyc.," i. 498–9).

C. A.D. 180.—St. Irenæus by his *potentior principalitas* assigns to the Roman Church "a certain precedence . . . over the other churches of Christendom" (*Ibid.*, ii. 191, note).

C. A.D. 190.—"The close of the second century witnessed the autocratic pretensions of the haughty Pope Victor," "the first also who advanced those claims to universal dominion which his successors in later ages have always consistently and often successfully maintained" ("Dissertations," 186).

And so by the end of the second century "the substitution of the Bishop of Rome for the Church of Rome" is an accomplished fact ("Clem. Rom.," i. 70).\*

Here are the phenomena to be accounted for as they appear to Bishop Lightfoot. And how does he account for them? The original primacy of Rome, he contends, was "a primacy not of official authority, but of practical goodness, backed however by the prestige and the advantages which were necessarily enjoyed by the church of the metropolis."† A perusal of the whole passage, which has been cited above (p. 846), will show that this theory is founded upon one single fact, viz., the expression of St. Ignatius in addressing the Roman Church as *προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης*, which is

\* We may observe that the facts of the case are set forth still more fully and strongly by Harnack in his remarkable excursus "Katholisch und Römisch" ("Dogmengeschichte," i. 400–412). Like Bishop Lightfoot, he holds that the primacy originally belonged to the Roman Church, not the Roman bishop—a position necessarily following from his view of the origin and nature of episcopacy.

† "Clem. Rom.," i. 71.

taken as meaning that this church has "the presidency of love," *i.e.*, that she takes the lead in "practical goodness," in works of charity to other churches, and so forth. The letter of Dionysius of Corinth, half a century later, is quoted in illustration, but, as has been said, the theory rests on the passage of St. Ignatius alone. Two questions at once arise: is this the true interpretation of the language? and, if so, does it account for the phenomena to be explained?

Among recent critics, Zahn agrees with Bishop Lightfoot,\* but Döllinger, Hefele, Funk, Schanz, and especially Hagemann, who discusses the point learnedly, and more in detail than the others, all contend that the proposed interpretation is inadmissible, and that ἡ ἀγάπη here means the "Brotherhood," the whole Church.† Harnack does not decide between the two interpretations, apparently thinking that either may be the real meaning of the words.‡ Thus Bishop Lightfoot's theory of the main cause of the Roman primacy is founded at best on a doubtful rendering of a single passage.

To leave the question of language, and come to that of fact, does the theory commend itself as intrinsically satisfactory? Is it likely that works of charity and "practical goodness," "sending supplies to many churches," and "recruiting the poverty of those in want," and "assisting brethren that are in the mines," could have been carried out on such a scale by the Roman Church in the first century, as to have made her, by the year 100, "the most important Church in Christendom," and to have won for her a recognised "precedence of rank," and to have warranted her in interfering in the affairs of another apostolic church of first rank with a tone of authority? Do we not feel at once that there is no proportion between the alleged cause and the effects to be accounted for?

But this is a good example of the hypotheses put forward

\* "Patrum Apost. Op.," ed. Gebhardt—Harnack—Zahn, Fasc. ii. 57.

† Döllinger, "Hist. of the Church," i. 255 (trans.); Hefele, "Patr. Apost. Op." (ed. Migne, 1857), *in loc.*; Funk, "Op. Patr. Apost." (ed. 1881), *in loc.*; Schanz, "Apology," iii. 481 (trans.); Hagemann, "Die Römische Kirche," 687. It may be objected that all these writers are Catholic; in the same way it may be replied that Bishop Lightfoot is an Anglican. And we venture to think that their names and their reputations, no less than his, are a guarantee that none of them would allow himself for any polemical purposes to distort a piece of evidence.

‡ "Der Vorsitz in der Liebe, sei es nun in dem Liebesbunde oder bei den Liebeswerken" ("Dogmengeschichte," i. 404, note).

by highly competent writers to explain on exclusively natural grounds the rise and growth of the Roman primacy. Of all the explanations attempted, we cannot help thinking that Bishop Lightfoot's is among the most superficial; and those which go deeper only land us in greater difficulties. To take two representative writers, one German, the other English: The Roman Church was the first to have a fixed baptismal creed, and to promulgate it as the apostolic rule by which all must be measured, hence the Roman Church was recognised as being able, with special precision, to discriminate between the true and the false. She first had a fixed canon of the New Testament. The idea of the apostolic succession of bishops was first brought into prominence in connection with the Roman Church. The Eastern Churches received from a Roman bishop, "and probably rightly," the code of apostolic constitutions for ecclesiastical organisation.\* The Roman Church was trusted for its traditional immunity from heretical speculations. It was a typical Church, a sample Church, a miniature of the whole body, and by referring to it, one could see what was held by all.†

But these are no explanations of the phenomena under investigation. They only force the question a step further back. We instinctively ask, How is it that this congeries of very remarkable facts is to be found in this one church, and in no other? Can any reason be assigned why this Roman Church should have been thus highly privileged? The facts set forth are not the causes of her primacy, but its results. They are its manifestation in actual practice; and to put them forward as its causes is surely to argue in a vicious circle. They remind us of Gibbon's famous "secondary causes" of the rapid spread of Christianity, which are true enough, and no doubt did materially help to bring about the great result; but the very existence of which, and much more their combination, are part of the phenomena that demand explanation.

There is, however, one way of accounting for the primacy which deserves special attention, both because it would be really a cause and not a result; and also because it is regarded by

---

\* Harnack, "Dogmengeschichte," i. 401-3.

† Bright, "Roman Claims tested by Antiquity."

Bishop Lightfoot, and, indeed, universally by non-Catholic writers, as a potent factor, if not the chief factor, in the evolution of the Papacy; and that is the theory that the ecclesiastical primacy of Rome among churches was but the corollary of her civil primacy among cities—that the church of the capital of the Roman Empire became as a matter of course the primatial church of Christendom. This naturally is the view of constitutional historians, of whom Professor Bryce, in his “Holy Roman Empire,” may be taken as an example. It is evident that the imperial position of Rome with all its associations and prestige would make it, naturally speaking, much easier for the church of Rome than for any other church to become the head of the Christian commonwealth, and to exercise a primacy. All this is true, and we would even wish to urge its force; for the presence of a supernatural and primary cause cannot be held to exclude the operation of others, natural and secondary—indeed it is the ordinary course of Providence to make use of such causes as helps in working out its designs. But the point at issue is precisely this: Are the civil position of Rome, and the bountiful generosity of the Roman Church, and so on, sufficient *of themselves* to account for the primacy of that church in the form in which it already presents itself in the course of the second century? For we must emphasize the fact that it is a question, not of the fourth century, but of the second. The result of the labours of the modern school of ecclesiastical historians has been to throw back this question, and others, two centuries, whereby the case assumes a complexion and urgency of which the older generation of scholars had no conception. Had the primacy emerged into the light of day and taken shape for the first time when Christianity had become the State religion, no doubt a good case might be made out; but seeing that by the end of the second century it is clearly to be discerned in all its main outlines, there simply is not time for the process of evolution postulated on such theories. Let it be considered also that the Roman Church of the first two centuries was composed for the most part of Greeks and Orientals, of slaves and freedmen, with occasionally a few persons moving in the higher, or even highest, circles of society;\* is it reasonable to suppose that this

\* Cf. “Clem. Rom.,” i. 33, 61-2; “Ign. and Polyc.,” i. 536, 370.

insignificant, suspected and contemned section of the population could by the mere prestige of the city have been invested with an authority analogous to that of the capital and seat of government of the world? As soon as we set ourselves to realise what is postulated on this theory, and test it by a supposed parallel case in our own day, we feel the difficulties involved. And even supposing the political prestige of the city could thus insensibly communicate itself from the pagan state to the Christian church in matter of pre-eminence and government, it is still harder to see how any such considerations could have given rise to the peculiar doctrinal authority recognised by Harnack and Lightfoot as having belonged to the Roman Church already in the second century.

Passing from the abstract question whether or not the Roman primacy might have arisen in this way, to the question of fact did it so arise, we are confronted with the fact that not a trace of this notion is to be found among the writers of the time; on the contrary, they held quite distinctly a very different theory. In their eyes the greatest weight in the settlement of questions of faith was attached to the traditions and teaching of the apostolic churches; to this principle Irenæus and Tertullian have recourse again and again in their controversies with the heretics. And the reason for this appeal is by no means the civil importance of the cities in which such churches exist, but simply and solely the fact that they had been founded by apostles. Now among all apostolic churches both these writers single out the Church of Rome as being in a special way apostolic, in a special way a witness to the orthodox faith. And they both assign the same reason for this pre-eminence of the Roman Church among apostolic churches—viz., that it was founded and presided over by the two greatest apostles, SS. Peter and Paul. Writers like Irenæus and Tertullian must be accepted as at any rate representing the ideas, the tone of thought, the feeling of their own times, and all the more so from the fact that they use this as their chief and most convincing argument in controversy with heretics. And that tone of thought, of feeling, is the outcome of ideas and reasons of a character essentially religious, providential (and here lies too the root of our own difference with Protestant writers like Bishop Lightfoot), and not

ideas and reasons merely secular, civil, accidental. Moreover, we venture to think that the living belief of the early Church, thus evidenced by these well-informed writers, is in a matter of this kind more likely to be true than the speculations of even the most keen-sighted critics of the nineteenth century, worked up as they are in the solitude of the study out of scanty records, eked out by the intuitions and, it may be, the prejudices of their originators. The primitive theory recommends itself by its simplicity; nay, it admits even of mathematical statement: As "the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul" are to the other apostles, so is "that greatest, most ancient and illustrious church," "founded and constituted" by them at Rome, to other apostolic churches.\* The reason assigned by Irenæus and Tertullian for the peculiar pre-eminence of the Roman Church is the same, but existing in a supereminent degree, as the reason they assign for the pre-eminence enjoyed by all apostolic churches. Whatever ingenuity may be employed in the attempt to give plausibility to the modern theory, there can be no question of the fact that, so far as extant evidence can be relied on, it was quite unknown in primitive times, and must be pronounced unhistorical.

To proceed a step further. The second-century conception of the primacy of the Roman Church attributed it to the fact that that church had been founded and taught and presided over by the two apostles, SS. Peter and Paul. But the same might be said of Antioch and (probably) of Corinth. There must, therefore, have been some unique element in their connection with Rome. It will hardly be maintained that their martyrdom at Rome is the determining factor of which we are in search. Lastly, is it Peter or is it Paul who in the ultimate analysis will prove to be the solution of the problem? We cannot help thinking that an unmistakable answer is given to this question by, so to say, the instinctive working of the inner consciousness of the Roman Church herself, in allowing the Doctor of the Gentiles to fall out of the list of her bishops in the early years of the third century, while the Prince of the Apostles ever grew more and more into prominence. Nor can

---

\* The expressions in inverted commas are from the famous passage of St. Irenæus ("Adv. Haer.," iii. 3).

this process be attributed to Ebionism, a tendency of which, according to Bishop Lightfoot,\* no traces are to be found at Rome. On the other hand, is there any historical fact which differentiates St. Peter from St. Paul, and marks out the former as a source of authority in a way which cannot be predicated of the latter? And thus at length we are led up to the Catholic explanation of the primacy of Rome, the historical side of which may be briefly formulated as follows :

(A) A pre-eminence, a primacy, was conferred on St. Peter by our Lord. We have endeavoured throughout these investigations to confine ourselves to the domain of history, without entering on any doctrinal considerations, and so no attempt has been made to determine the nature of this primacy. We are quite satisfied to accept Bishop Lightfoot's version of what the Petrine texts gave to St. Peter. Not only is it the case that "he holds the first place in all the lists," but "above all he receives special pastoral charges."† It would be difficult to express more tersely or to bring out more fully in so few words the significance of our Lord's three great utterances to St. Peter. This is precisely what is meant by a primacy, not merely of honour or leadership, but also of jurisdiction. Once it is granted that St. Peter ever held such a primacy, it must be assumed that he retained it, until positive proof to the contrary is forthcoming. And in the previous article the insufficiency of the reasons brought forward to show that it was temporary was dwelt upon at some length.

(B) St. Peter, towards the end of his life, if not before, made his way to that very city which all the circumstances of the time, as well as the genius of its people for rule and administration, united in pointing out as the natural seat of a primacy over Christendom; he took up his residence there, constituted, and presided over the Christian community; and, except on the hypothesis that the apostles were not bishops, he must be regarded as, in an adequate sense, Bishop of Rome.

(C) On its first appearance on the stage of history, only thirty years after St. Peter's martyrdom, the Roman Church is already the most prominent church of Christendom; its

---

\* "Dissertations," 93-103.

† "Clem. Rom.," ii. 431.

primacy is recognised throughout the course of the second century by writers in different countries; its succession of bishops is looked to as the chief guarantee of the transmission of the orthodox doctrine; the first articulate voice that issues from the mouth of one of its bishops is the first step to Papal domination; the second, a century later, is a claim to universal dominion. "*Vera incessu patuit dea!*"

Thus we have three unmistakable historical facts:

St. Peter's primacy.

His connection with the Roman Church as bishop.

The primacy of that church from the dawn of Christian history.

The question comes to this: Are we to look upon these as three isolated facts, and to beat about for independent sets of causes to account for them; or are we to conceive of them as organically connected, so that the third is the natural outcome of the other two? We cannot help thinking that the latter alternative is at once the simpler, the more logical, and the one more in accord with ascertained facts, and with primitive beliefs.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER, O.S.B.

## ART. VI.—THE HON. CHARLES LANGDALE.

## III.

THE Poor School Committee, or, as it is now called, "the School Committee," has lasted so long, and has done so much good that it will have a distinguished place in the history of the Church in England in the nineteenth century. It would, therefore, be a matter of interest to know with whom the idea of the committee originated. On this point I am quite unable to inform the reader. The first time I heard of the intended formation of the committee was from Mr. Langdale, who merely said that the bishops were going to establish a committee nominated by themselves, to take the place of the Educational Committee of the Catholic Institute, which was about to be dissolved. I believe he added at the same time, that the committee would consist of one clergyman and two laymen from each of the districts of England. Such, however, was the constitution of the committee, and so it has remained to the present day.\* In a matter which comes under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authority, as Christian education does, but where the help of laymen is needed or required in order to carry out details, some of great, and others of less importance, it certainly seems to be a wise provision that the laymen to act should be named by the bishops, and, under the supervision of their lordships, should be allowed to proceed with freedom in all those details which do not require the interposition of spiritual authority.

The duties of the new committee were to be much the same as those of the Educational Committee of the Institute, and might be divided into two heads: the distribution of the funds at the discretion of the committee, and the office of being the organ of communication between the Government and the Vicars Apostolic.

The Poor School Committee may be said to have been

---

\* Since the above was written Mr. George Blount, who was a member of the Educational Committee of the Catholic Institute, has told me that he thinks the idea of the Poor School Committee had its origin in a conversation between Mr. Langdale and Bishop Wiseman.

founded on the 27th of September in the year 1847. There does not appear to have been any formal document constituting the committee. The vicars apostolic, it would seem, first agreed amongst themselves on the constitution of the committee; they then applied to certain priests and laymen in their respective districts requesting them to represent the district on the committee. Their lordships then wrote a joint address to the chairman and members of the acting committee of the Catholic Institute, in which, after speaking of their own obligation to watch over the religious education of the poor, and the special circumstances which rendered vigilance most necessary at that time, they continue as follows:

But however great be our solicitude and anxious our desires, our endeavours in our present circumstances must be comparatively fruitless, unless we have the zealous and unremitting co-operation of others in this good work. We hail, then, with peculiar satisfaction, the zealous co-operation of the gentlemen, lay and clerical, who, from each of our respective districts, have kindly consented to assist us in this great work of education; and we desire to have intimated to her Majesty's Government that we approve of them as our organ of communication on the subject of education. We subjoin a list of the names of these gentlemen, and we respectfully recommend that you, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, members of the acting committee of the Institute, will, without any unnecessary delay, cause to be passed over to the credit of the gentlemen of the subjoined list whatever sum of money may be standing in your books exclusively for the purpose of education, it being the unanimous intention of the Bishops to carry on henceforward the great work of the religious education of the children of the poor by the assistance, and through the instrumentality, of this new subjoined committee.

Then follow the names of the gentlemen appointed by the bishops as above mentioned—that is, one priest and two laymen for each of the eight districts into which England was then divided.\*

Such was the origin of the Poor School Committee. In its formation, that is by the Bishops; in its representative character, being chosen equally from each of the eight districts;

---

\* In the first article on "Charles Langdale" (DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1892, p. 395), the writer represented himself as being the last survivor of the original Poor School Committee. This was a mistake. In the list of names mentioned above, and which was sent by the bishops to the acting committee of the Catholic Institute, occurs the name of "The Rev. W. J. Vaughan," the present venerable Bishop of Plymouth, who, with the Hon. Charles Clifford and Edward Weld, Esq., both deceased, represented the Western District.

in the liberty which their lordships allowed the committee to act when the immediate exercise of episcopal authority was not required; in the extreme caution with which the committee acted, and the fidelity with which it always referred important or doubtful matters to the bishops, this committee may, probably, be considered as a model whenever the ecclesiastical authorities in Great Britain wish to engage both clergy and laity to work together in a matter intimately connected with religion. Before the recommendation of the bishops to pay over to the new committee the balance held by the Institute for the purposes of education could be carried out, it was necessary to have the authority of the Institute at a public meeting. The Institute was, as we have seen, to be dissolved; and an association, to be called "The Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury," was to be established, to attend to the general interests of the British Catholics. To effect the threefold object, the transference of the money, the dissolution of the Institute, and the formation of the Association, a public meeting of Catholics was called, to be held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on the 29th of November 1847. The meeting accordingly took place, under the presidency of that veteran soldier of the Church, the Right Rev. William Morris, Bishop of Troy. The first resolution was proposed by Mr. Langdale and seconded by Frederick Lucas, the junction of those two names as proposer and seconder being, as we shall see, significant. This first resolution should be given to the reader in full. It was as follows:

Resolved, that it being found desirable to dissolve the Catholic Institute, with a view to carry out its purposes more efficiently by other and more appropriate arrangements, the members of the Institute present at this meeting hereby declare the Institute dissolved, and authorise the trustees to pay over to the Education Committee recently appointed by the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales so much of the funds as on the books of the Catholic Institute stand to the account of the Education Department, and to the Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury so much of the funds and property as are appropriated to general purposes.

Other resolutions expressed the satisfaction of the meeting at the action of the bishops, and at the formation of the Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Advantage was also taken of the meeting to return grateful thanks to Mr.

Langdale for his "labours and exertions in behalf of Catholic rights and the interests of the Catholic poor through the whole course of his public life, both in Parliament and out of it, and particularly in his connection with the Catholic Institute since its reorganisation in 1845."

A report had been in circulation amongst some Catholics, belonging to that class of persons who, being ignorant of the real state of things, invent or exaggerate facts for the sake of talking scandal, that the Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury had been got up in opposition to Mr. Langdale. That such was not the case the reader will have learned in the account of the origin of the Association, in the article on "The Hon. Charles Langdale" in the July number of the DUBLIN REVIEW. Mr. Langdale became a member of the Association, and subscribed to its funds during its short existence, and the junction of his name with that of Mr. Lucas as proposer and seconder of the first resolution shows that the two men, so far from being in opposition, were in perfect accordance. But the appearance of the two men working together in the Catholic cause was also a sign that Mr. Langdale did not resent, as many a man would have done, the very fierce attacks which the editor of the *Tablet* had, only a few months previously, made upon him when he refused to call a public meeting of Catholics. And this gives occasion to mention two noble traits in Mr. Langdale's character. There can be no doubt that Lucas exceeded to a great extent the bounds of moderation in his invective on the occasion above referred to. Many, perhaps all, of those who agreed with Lucas and opposed Mr. Langdale on the question of calling the meeting, highly disapproved of and intensely regretted the offensive observations of the editor. It is not necessary to reproduce here what any one who wishes to search into the past may find in the files of the *Tablet*. It is sufficient to say that Mr. Langdale must have very keenly felt the harsh tone of the articles. His daughter Mary, whose "Recollections" have been several times quoted, says:

We used often to dislike the tone of a certain Catholic paper; and on several occasions when papa had written or spoken publicly, and had not taken the somewhat *ultra* views of the editor, which annoyed him [the editor] much, he expressed his opinion and feelings about papa in no

very moderate terms in print, so much so that on more than one occasion both priests and a bishop inserted in the paper their strong disapproval of his attacks on papa. We used to be present when papa opened the paper, and he used to read these attacks on himself, at which we used to be very indignant; but we never could get him to express the least soreness or annoyance. On the contrary, he generally turned it into a joke, and said the editor had a perfect right to say what he pleased about him. Still, it was impossible he should not on several occasions have felt very keenly the cutting sarcasms he found addressed to or about himself. It was, however, very different [adds Miss Langdale] when he found others attacked and, he considered, unjustly blamed; all his indignation was at once roused. On one occasion, a young leading Catholic nobleman, the late Duke of Norfolk, came forward, almost for the first time, in some Catholic cause. He had previously consulted papa, who had encouraged and approved of the moderate view he took; and knowing also that it was a great effort for him to come forward at all in public. The young nobleman's conduct on this occasion was highly disapproved by the same editor, who wished him to have expressed himself in much stronger language. His paper contained a most virulent attack on his first *début*, and he expressed most discouraging and gloomy forebodings for his future religious opinions. When papa read this, foreseeing at once all the bad effect it was likely to produce, all the fire of his indignation was aroused, and in the next week's paper he wrote a letter of approbation of the young gentleman's conduct, and of high disapproval of the editor's remarks. He was always earnest [Miss Langdale concludes] in trying to induce young Catholic gentlemen to take their share and an interest in the affairs of religion, and, if possible, bring them forward at any public meeting. Their backwardness and shyness at such times was a great distress to him.

The simple earnestness of the daughter in showing the humility and the chivalry of her father leaves a much more pleasing and durable impression upon the reader than would a more laboured and more minute account of the facts to which she alludes.

Before the public meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on the 29th November 1847, had been held, the first meeting of the Poor School Committee took place, on the 10th and 11th of the same month. It met at the residence of Mr. Nasmyth Stokes, No. 18 Nottingham Street, Marylebone, at which house the committee had its office and meeting room. Mr. Stokes had been appointed secretary. I believe he was appointed by the bishops, but as the first minute-book of the committee has been lost, the fact cannot be stated for certain.

As the articles in this Review on Charles Langdale are a

memoir of Mr. Langdale, and not a history of the Poor School Committee, it will not be necessary to enter further into the details of what the committee did, than to show the character, the influence and the work of the chairman. Of all the members of the committee, Mr. Langdale was the only one who professed to make the work of education through the committee the one great object of his life. Though all the members of the committee showed a zeal in the work which was worthy of the cause, and though those few who habitually resided in London were liable to be summoned to sub-committee meetings, and had more to do than those who lived the greater part of the year in the country, yet Mr. Langdale was the permanent watchman. He made himself acquainted with everything, whether done or proposed to be done by the Government, or attempted by various politicians and religious bodies, which could in any way affect the education of Catholic children. He was not content with knowing and attending to the present wants of the Catholic schools, he looked forward to the future; and I believe I am right in saying that he was the first to bring before the committee, and through the committee before the public, the necessity of immediate Catholic action in the matter of training colleges, of reformatory schools, and industrial schools. The first work which the chairman and the committee had to attend to was the distribution of the money collected and subscribed for the building and supporting of schools. The Vicars Apostolic in a joint pastoral ordered a yearly collection for the committee in all churches and chapels, and private subscriptions considerably increased. In the first year the income of the committee was £4000. In everything connected with grants of money the chairman acted with the greatest fairness and impartiality. He, however, always showed a reluctance to make a grant where he thought there were persons in the congregation from which the application was made who were able to support the school. He decidedly discouraged all applications under such circumstances, unless, indeed, it was clear that the priest of the place was unable to move the hearts of those who could but would not assist him.

But the most important work which fell to the lot of the chairman in the early days of the committee was the settling

with the Government the terms on which Catholics were to receive grants for schools. The whole question had to come before the committee; but the committee could not take a step in an important matter of this kind without the authority of the Bishops. Both the Government and the Vicars Apostolic were inclined to make concessions to a certain extent. But both the Government and the Vicars were determined to stand by certain principles, the firm maintenance of which at one time brought the negotiations between the Poor School Committee and the Committee of Council on Education to a deadlock. The situation was such that a proposition was made on the committee that we should throw up the connection with the Government altogether. This motion was, however, defeated by a large majority. But the difficulty was at last overcome, as we shall presently see. All the most important part of the correspondence with the Government in this serious question fell upon Mr. Langdale. His letters are models for any Catholic who wishes in communications with Government to be conciliatory, and at the same time firm, to insist, in order to insure equality of treatment, upon a recognition of the discipline of the Catholic Church, where such recognition does not interfere with the rights of others.

Our difference with the Government arose out of what was called the "Management Clause" of the deed vesting the school property in trustees for school purposes *in perpetuum*, and which the Committee of Council on Education required to be executed whenever it gave money on a building grant. The matter is of no practical consequence now, except to those schools which received Government building grants previous to the Education Act of 1870. But a short notice of the question is necessary in a Life of Charles Langdale, as it shows his own excellence as a Catholic negotiator; and as it proves what a layman can effect when in a question affecting religion, taking his stand on the decisions of his ecclesiastical superiors on the one hand, and on his rights as a British subject on the other hand, he perseveringly fights for justice. The management clause of the deed was so framed that while it gave to the priest of the congregation to which the school belonged "the management and superintendence of the religious instruction of all the scholars attending the said school," it left a

power in any lay member of the committee to make what objection he pleased to the instruction given. After many months of correspondence this anomaly in the discipline of the Catholic Church was got rid of, by the Government consenting to withdraw that part of the clause which gave a lay member of the committee a right to interfere. Other alterations were made in the school trust deed, which put the relations between Catholic schools and the Government in a state which, if not perfectly satisfactory, was, at any rate, such as could be accepted. In the whole of the controversy on the management clause and other parts of the trust deed, Mr. Langdale was carrying out the decisions and the wishes of the Vicars Apostolic, and had the authority of the Poor School Committee for all he did; but he is entitled to the praise of having conducted the negotiations to a successful issue. To show how careful the chairman and the committee were not to encroach on the jurisdiction of the bishops, it may be stated that at one meeting of the committee, when a decision on an *ultimatum* to be sent to the Government had to be come to before the evening, the bishops being in town for their Low Week meeting, Mr. Langdale adjourned the meeting twice in order to send a deputation to their lordships to have their directions on some point in question, the second deputation having to go to Clapham to meet the bishops. In the working of the Poor School Committee, while constant reference was made to the bishops, either by the whole committee, or by a small acting committee, or by the chairman alone, certainly no one in those days ever thought of complaining that the bishops did not leave the committee enough liberty and enough to do. In the Poor School Committee and its relations with the bishops, we had, perhaps, as perfect an example as could be shown anywhere of harmonious working together of clergy and laity in a matter affecting the Catholic religion. That the result of a correspondence with the Government was a substantial gain was acknowledged by members of the Established Church, one of whom (unless my memory is at fault, it was Archdeacon Denison) wrote to Mr. Stokes to ask him how it was that the Roman Catholics had obtained such favourable terms. Mr. Stokes told me that his answer was that Catholics had obtained what they wanted, because they were united, and there was no

difference amongst them as to what was wanted.\* Having mentioned the name of Mr. Stokes, it is by no means out of place in a notice of Mr. Langdale to record the very great help and assistance it was to him to be aided by one who was not only a very able secretary, but one who himself took great personal interest in the work of the committee.

I will quote here one sentence from Mr. Langdale's correspondence with the Government which shows the thorough Christian principles on which he acted :

The Catholic Poor School Committee equally regret with the Lord President their difference with his lordship. They have every wish to adopt any suggestion short of a violation of the religion to which they have already sacrificed benefits conferred upon other classes of their fellow-subjects. They most deeply deplore any decision of the Lord President which will again condemn the schools of their poor children to struggle on under difficulties from which others are relieved out of funds raised equally at their expense ; but if this primary aid is to be purchased only at the sacrifice of principle, they must indeed protest against the injustice ; but they cannot hesitate to preserve to their poorest brethren, as to themselves, the inheritance inviolate of the Roman Catholic faith.

This may be a proper place to notice the relations which subsisted between Mr. Langdale and that illustrious churchman, Cardinal Wiseman, whose memory will ever be blessed amongst English Catholics. When the Poor School Committee was formed, Bishop Wiseman was Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District. He then, in July 1848, became coadjutor to Bishop Walsh in London, and on the death of Bishop Walsh, early in 1849, his coadjutor succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic of the London District, and remained so until he was created Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal in September 1850. Cardinal Wiseman died in 1865, and Mr. Langdale in 1868, so that for eighteen years, and until three years of Mr. Langdale's death, Cardinal Wiseman was exercising ecclesiastical authority, and with the exception of about seven months sole authority in the Metropolis. As all the important business of the Poor School Committee was carried

---

\* The union which Mr. Stokes here speaks of was simply the agreement amongst the members of the Poor School Committee to carry out the wishes of the bishops in a matter relating to education. He did not mean that Catholics were generally united in questions on which they were at liberty to differ. On this we shall have Mr. Langdale's opinion later.

on in London, Cardinal Wiseman was the authority to whom Mr. Langdale had most frequent recourse; other Catholic matters also sometimes brought the two together. What struck me as most remarkable in their intercourse was the extreme respect which they both showed for each other, and the mutual confidence which existed between them. It was plainly to be seen that the Cardinal placed the firmest trust in Mr. Langdale, not merely that he would not overstep the sphere of a layman's work, but that in all he undertook he would act with prudence and vigour. The Cardinal seemed always most anxious to meet the views of Mr. Langdale, and it is no small praise to say of a man of independent spirit, and to whom great liberty of action was allowed, that during thirty years, when he was engaged in most important Catholic affairs, he never came into collision with his ecclesiastical superiors. Any layman who has taken an active interest in the welfare of the Church in England, or who has wished to do so in a layman's sphere, can well appreciate the qualities which enabled Mr. Langdale to work so well as he did for so long a time.

In the work which the committee had to do, not the least important, and perhaps the most important, was the forming of training colleges for both male and female teachers. Where so many persons, including bishops, priests and Poor School Committee were responsible in their different spheres for the education of the poor, and were actively engaged in devising means for carrying on the important work, it is difficult to apportion with certainty the credit of being the originators of successful schemes to any persons in particular. But the writer of this article can say that while he was a member of the committee in its early days, not only was Mr. Langdale the first from whom he heard of training colleges and industrial schools, and perhaps also reformatories, but Mr. Langdale was certainly the one upon whom fell almost all of the work which was necessary to commence those institutions as connected with the Catholic Church. The whole question relating to those establishments was, of course, discussed on the committee, and the committee had the benefit of the advice and of knowing the wishes of the bishops; but Mr. Langdale was most certainly what may be called the executive

power in the committee. He, with the help of Mr. Stokes, had to carry out what the committee decided upon; and the committee always left Mr. Langdale a considerable margin within which he was to decide for himself what to do, and to act upon his own decision.

As this notice of Mr. Langdale has advanced beyond the year 1848, it may be well to recur to that year to mention his conduct with regard to the "Diplomatic Relations Act." It was "An Act for enabling Her Majesty to establish and maintain Diplomatic Relations with the Sovereign of the Roman States." Probably now the Holy Father would be mentioned in an Act of Parliament as "His Holiness the Pope," as there are symptoms in these days that Englishmen would act as gentlemen in their relations with the Head of the "greatest power on earth, the most ancient dynasty in history." \* The Act contained a clause which Lord Eglinton carried against the Government, providing that no person should be received as ambassador from the Court of Rome "who should be in Holy Orders, or a Jesuit or member of any other religious Order, Community or Society of the Church of Rome, bound by religious vows." This clause prevented the Holy Father not only from availing himself of the Act, but from condescending to take any notice of it. While the Bill was before Parliament, the Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury held a meeting to petition against it, and to address the Holy Father in a sense adverse to the Bill. Mr. Langdale was invited to preside at the meeting. He wrote his answer to the writer of this article; and as it shows his mind not only with regard to the Diplomatic Relations Bill, but to other matters, it is worthy of insertion. It was written from "Houghton" and was as follows:

I must decline the honour you propose, however opposed I may be to the Diplomatic Relations Bill, especially with the insulting exception to his proposed Ambassador to this country. From your account the chairman will have a somewhat difficult task to keep peace in the meeting; and I have great doubts as to the propriety of calling Catholics together when you foresee that it will be an occasion of dissension (a

---

\* *Vide* Cardinal Newman's "Lectures on the Present Condition of Catholics in England," lecture v. p. 194, 4th edition, where his Eminence speaks about this Act.

positive evil), without any very sure good arising even from success. Will it ever be possible to get Catholics in *England* to think alike on any one subject? I believe not. They seem to consider any question as one of the Articles of Faith; so to be died for rather than yielded. I shall be in town on Monday morning ready for a preliminary meeting [this must have been of the Poor School Committee], which I suppose will be held at two o'clock, at 18 Nottingham Street. Lucas seems to have misunderstood a hurried note I wrote him from York on Friday. Our Yorkshire meeting is in support of education.

Yours very truly, CHARLES LANGDALE.

Your great guns of St. Thomas of Canterbury have broken up rather sooner than I anticipated.

There was some cause for Mr. Langdale's fears for the peace of the meeting, and also for his remark about the "great guns of St. Thomas of Canterbury." As there was a rather strong minority on the committee against holding the public meeting above referred to, and as many of the members of the minority withdrew altogether from the Association, it was thought there would probably be some amendments proposed at the meeting, in which case there would have been an uproar. Almost all the members of the Association who were able to supply the pecuniary means of carrying on business, including amongst others Earl John of Shrewsbury, resigned membership. These were the "great guns" Mr. Langdale speaks of. But if the great guns charged with gold were not present nor represented at the meeting, several great guns charged with intellect—Mr. Lucas, Mr. G. W. Ward, and the Rev. Mr. Oakeley—were present, and delivered strong speeches against the "Diplomatic Relations Bill."

Mr. Langdale's observation about the "great guns" affords an opportunity for mentioning a very decided trait in his character. This was his fondness for rallying his friends on any subjects relating to them which happened to amuse him. It was always, of course, in good humour, and with evident satisfaction to himself, without wounding the feelings of others. An early member of the Poor School Committee was the Rev. John Walker, afterwards Canon Walker, of Scarborough, a great friend of Mr. Langdale's. There must be many still alive who remember him and his extraordinary love for argument. On one occasion, during the adjournment of the committee for lunch, when several remained in the committee-

room, Mr. Langdale asked Mr. Walker if a story he had heard was true—that when going a journey by railway he was accustomed to walk up and down the platform to notice the man who should get into the train, and who he thought would make a good disputant; then, if possible, to take his seat opposite to him, get into conversation, contradict the first assertion he made, and so have an argument. Mr. Walker admitted the impeachment, saying that in that way he had often passed the time very pleasantly between York and London.

Another letter of Mr. Langdale's, written in the year 1848, cannot fail to be interesting to those who care to know his opinions on the state of affairs in Ireland in that year. It is only necessary, before quoting the letter, to remind the reader of the unfortunate and abortive attempt at a rising against the British Government, which was headed by Smith O'Brien and his young friend, Thomas Francis Meagher. Just previous to the rising, some treasonable and shameful articles had been published in one especially of the Irish newspapers, instructing civilians how to fight against the military, particularly in towns, where vitriol and other murderous things could be thrown out of the windows upon the soldiers. At the trial of the insurgents, towards the end of the year 1848, the Government also resorted to a shameful practice of another description—namely, that of excluding Catholics from the jury, in order to ensure a conviction. It was proposed to hold a meeting in London to protest against the unjust and cruel conduct of the Government. That was the sole motive for holding the meeting. There was not, of course, the smallest intention of in any way approving of the acts for which the insurgents were to be tried. Mr. Langdale was asked to attend the meeting, and probably he was asked to preside. The following letter, written from Houghton on the 6th of December 1848, was his answer to the application. This letter also was addressed to the writer of this article.

I can make no comparison between the present position of Ireland and its leaders and the now all but denounced O'Connell. Though I never was a Repealer, the *moral* agitation of that question I ever considered constitutional, and consistent with religion. The Government of that

day,\* in spite of every declaration to the contrary, would *construe* a conspiracy out of legal and constitutional acts. But now treason is not the implied but openly avowed object of its leaders, and, as far as advice and suggestion could accomplish it, carried by modes the most atrocious that human ingenuity could invent (vitriol, &c. &c.). Now, I could be no party to any of those late proceedings without avowing myself a traitor and a perjurer, and though I am quite ready to acknowledge that a traitor has a full right to a fair trial and an impartial jury, I could not attend a meeting of the description to which you allude without denouncing the treason, whilst I claimed a fair trial for the traitor. But I lament to say that even this is not all. Opinions have been put forth on the duties of jurymen in Ireland, and an interpretation put upon their oaths, which in my opinion strike at the very existence of trial by jury. I ask again: how could I take part in the proposed meeting without separating myself from such interpretations? Now observe, I do not by the above wish to put a construction upon the motives of others; but I am bound to act upon my own conscientious views and opinions, and to take care that others do not mistake them. I say, then, that if I took a part in a public meeting, I should be bound in honour, honesty, and conscience to see that I was not involved, nor likely to involve others, in what my judgment would tell me was a violation of the laws of God and man.

I need hardly say that the profession of these sentiments, though quite consistent with the denunciation of striking off a Catholic, *as a Catholic*, from a jury, could only create confusion and dissension, without any practical good. Now, one word more, though not quite requisite for the purport of this letter. My opinion of striking off Catholic jurymen, even though their actual participation in the imputed crime of a prisoner was clear and manifest, is so likely to prove injurious to the welfare of Ireland, that infinitely better would it have been to have suspended trial by jury than thus raise the presumption that it was religion and not impartiality that was sought for as the qualification of an Irish jurymen. Lamentable has been and is the fate of Ireland. The misgovernment of centuries is working out its evil consequences both to the oppressor and oppressed, and that once-favoured class for which so much injustice has been perpetrated seems destined to expiate in their own persons and property the guilt of which they were the primary cause.

Believe me, yours truly, CHARLES LANGDALE.

There are several things worthy of notice in this letter, as showing the mind and character of Mr. Langdale. In the first place we have his decided opinion that O'Connell's agitation in 1843 was constitutional and conscientious. The

---

\* Mr. Langdale here alludes to the prosecution of O'Connell and others by Sir Robert Peel at the beginning of the year 1844.

conviction that it was constitutional he shared with the whole of the Whig party. But Mr. Langdale did not condemn Sir Robert Peel's prosecution of O'Connell simply because he was a Whig. His denunciation of the proceedings of Smith O'Brien show with sufficient clearness that his political views were mastered by his conscience. He conscientiously believed that O'Connell did nothing contrary to law in his campaign of monster meetings.

The party which Mr. Langdale had always supported was in power in 1848, but that did not prevent him from seeing and acknowledging that even that party was pursuing the fatal course of governing the Catholic, Irish, or English Protestant principles. It may be emphatically said of him that, though attached to a party, he was a Catholic first and a Whig afterwards. In this respect he was a brilliant example to all those English Catholics who have attached themselves to a political party.

The last portion of the letter is almost prophetic: what Mr. Langdale feared, and, indeed, foresaw, is forced upon us now in stern reality.

The letter also shows the extreme delicacy of Mr. Langdale's loyalty, and of his sense of the obligation of showing it. It is impossible not to admire that enthusiastic state of mind which would not allow him to denounce injustice in the conduct of the trial without delivering a philippic against the crimes of which the defendants were accused. No one would for a moment have supposed that Mr. Langdale approved of rebellion. This letter of Mr. Langdale's shows very clearly the difference between him and some others of the English Catholics as to the tone which should be adopted in dealing with unfair treatment by the governing authorities. Men who had as loyal hearts as Mr. Langdale, and who disapproved as much as he did of the foolish attempt at rebellion, thought their first duty was to protest against the unfairness of the trial, and then leave to circumstances which might arise at the meeting the necessity of denouncing the actions of the accused. If a man were to be convicted of murder in England by a packed jury, no one would say that his counsel in complaining of the injustice was obliged, in order to preserve his

reputation, to deliver an invective against murder and murderers. The same should be said of what might happen in Ireland. Smith O'Brien and his friends were entitled to as much consideration in their political offence as would be given to a common felon in England. But those who thought with Mr. Langdale, and those who differed with him in this matter, were all loyal and honourable men.

WILLIAM J. AMHERST, S.J.

## ART. VII.—THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS AT JERUSALEM.

1. *La question Religieuse en Orient et l'Union des Églises.*  
Par un MISSIONNAIRE. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre,  
Rue Bonaparte, 90. 1893.
2. *Discours d'Ouverture et de Clôture.* Prononcés par S.E. LE  
CARDINAL LANGÉNIEUX, Archevêque de Reims, Légat du  
Saint Siège, aux solennités Eucharistiques de Jerusalem,  
15-21 Mai. 1893.

THE great Eucharistic Congress at Jerusalem is over. Its success has been undoubted, and is acknowledged by all. Jerusalem is not only the Holy City of the chosen people of God, the site of the Temple, the centre of Divine Worship, and of the ancient prophecies and sacrifices; it is also the birth-place and cradle of the Blessed Sacrament—the spot where was enacted man's redemption on the Cross of Calvary. In the words of Cardinal Langénieux: "It has furnished the newly-born Church with all the essential elements to affirm its constitution and assure its development. To the East we owe our first pastors, our Liturgy, our Apostles, our first institutions, the first body of the faithful. It is the real birth-place of the Apostolate, and the whole world has thrilled at its preaching, *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*."

If, therefore, the Holy See has willed to be represented at this Eucharistic Congress, which it had never done before, it was because it gave the Sovereign Pontiff an opportunity to show his sympathy with and admiration for these Oriental churches, the first-born of the Church of God—churches which, in spite of errors and divergences on certain points, had always kept the dogma of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharistic Sacrifice from the earliest times until now.

"How dear to us," exclaimed Leo XIII. to Cardinal Langénieux, "are those churches of the East! How we admire their ancient glories, and how great would be our joy and happiness if we could see them once more united to us in Faith, Hope, and Charity!"

This Congress, then, has had two results : first, we will hope, an increase of love, fervour and devotion towards our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament ; and, secondly, a strong and sensible movement towards the union of the separated churches, which is ably discussed in the book we are about to review.

The author begins by describing the first schism in the fifth century, when Nestorius established his heresy in the East of Syria, and fixed upon Seleucia as his Episcopal See. This century was to witness another schism ; for the Armenians who had refused to join Nestorius, would not accept the Council of Chalcedon. Three heresies then started up : the Syrian-Jacobite, the Armenian, and the Coptic, who carried their revolt into Abyssinia.

Those who remained faithful to the Holy See received the name of *Melchites* ; while another body, in the mountains of the Lebanon, called themselves *Maronites*, and have always continued fervent Catholics.

The rupture between the East and West, begun at Constantinople by the ambition of Photius, and finally completed by Michael Cerularius, continued till the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries with no attempt at reunion. But, then, a large number of Nestorians (under the name of Chaldeans) and a respectable body of Syrians, Greeks, Copts, and Armenians rejoined the Church of Rome, while reserving their own rites and discipline, and having each their own Patriarch, in union with the Holy See, together with a large number of Bishops and Archbishops. According to statistics, the numbers thus united amount to upwards of 2,000,000. The most ancient of all the schismatic bodies, the Nestorians, form a community of 200,000 souls, residing principally in Kurdistan. They are on the point of joining the Church of Rome, and are schismatic only in name. The Syrian-Jacobites also have drawn up a profession of faith to be shown to the Holy Father, which, if approved of, will, we hope, lead to a similar consummation. Still more important is the movement among the Copts towards this union since the meeting of the Eucharistic Congress. The Patriarch of Cairo had a long interview with the Cardinal Legate, and seems most desirous of coming to an understanding with the Holy See.

The Greeks are the most numerous of the separated

Churches, and are all nominally under the Patriarch of Constantinople. But, in reality, he has no power save in Turkey and in Asia Minor.

After this rapid summary of the state of the various Oriental Churches, our author goes on to prove the impossibility of a continuance of this state of things. He quotes the opinion of M. de Maistre on the evils which threatened the Eastern Churches even in his time, and which now are multiplied a thousandfold. He writes :

All the Churches separated from the Holy See since the beginning of the twelfth century may be compared to frozen bodies, of which the forms could only have been preserved by the cold. This cold is the ignorance which was to last longer with them than with us, for it has pleased God to concentrate for a time all human science in the West.

But as soon as the hot wind of science shall blow on these Churches, the laws of nature will be carried out ; old forms will be dissolved and nothing but dust will remain. . . . This is an assured fact : *That no religion, save one, can bear the test of science.* This oracle is more sure than that of Chalcas. Science is a species of acid which dissolves all metals *except gold*.\*

Further on he adds :

Our languages and our sciences will penetrate into these Churches, and we shall see them go through all those phases of dissolution and disruption which Calvinist and Lutheran Protestantism have already unrolled before our eyes. In all these Churches the great changes I speak of will begin with the clergy, and the first to give us this interesting spectacle will be the Russian Church, for she is the most exposed to the winds from Europe.

In the face of these serious warnings, let us look at what is now happening in the East. We must bear in mind, in the first place, that distances have, in one sense, ceased to exist ; that a continual movement brings different races together, so that relations which formerly seemed impossible are now become perfectly easy and feasible. The result is that the East cannot remain in its former isolation, and its children welcome with ardour all who bring them education and science and the means to place themselves on the same intellectual footing as the West. The consequence is that schools and colleges may now be reckoned by thousands where forty or fifty years ago such a thing as a place of education was unknown. It never,

---

\* Joseph de Maistre. "Du Pape." Book iv. chap. ii.

probably, occurred to an Oriental that his children, while acquiring learning would lose their old faith, yet there is no doubt that, in a multitude of instances, this has been the case. As for Catholics, their plain duty is to put themselves at the head of a movement which they cannot stop; and prevent the rising generation from being swallowed up by a wave of infidelity, heresy, and free-thought. But the usual difficulty—want of means—arrests their progress on every side. The progress of modern ideas is equally remarkable if we look at the separated Churches. In Russia, for instance, in spite of the most rigorous measures, the official Church is threatened with dissolution. A work recently published in France by a Russian, M. Tsakni, gives us a list of fifteen of these sects who have abandoned the Orthodox Church, and he reckons the number of their adherents at *fifteen millions*.\* M. Solovieff and M. Léroy Beaulieu confirm this statement.

What is true of the Russian Church is equally so in Greece. The Protestant Universities of Germany train the greater number of their Greek priests; and M. Lionel Radiguet states, in a Review, published in December 1890, that, in consequence, "The most dangerous elements of Protestantism have been introduced into the minds of the clergy, and in many cases Christianity itself has well nigh evaporated."

The *Acropolis*, of the 21st of March 1889, publishes the following statement:

The Professor of Theology, in a lecture yesterday, delivered at Parnassus, declared that in the researches he had made in the earliest centuries of Christianity, there were no church rites. They gave alms, did good works, were ready to die for their faith and their country; but they had neither churches, nor offices, nor feasts, nor fasts! He even had failed to find any distinct idea of the Sacraments!

The evil is equally wide-spread in Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania. The Exarch of Bulgaria, Mgr. Joseph, in a discourse pronounced by him at Constantinople, on the Feast of St. Methodius, exclaimed: "The mass of our people have become cold and indifferent. As to the educated classes, they are decidedly hostile to all that is holy, and it is only the fear of Russia which prevents their abolishing the Bulgarian Church

---

\* "La Russie Sectaire." Paris: Librairie Plon.

altogether." There again we see that the "acid" of M. de Maistre has penetrated, as in all the separated branches of the Oriental Church, and is accomplishing its work of decomposition. The idea of an Ecumenical Council has been suggested by many of the more earnest members of these Churches, as a way of remedying such ever-growing evils. But without union, without a centre, and without any paramount authority to enable its decisions to be accepted or respected, how is such a Council possible?

Our author devotes the next chapter of his book to the rapid strides made by the Protestant sects in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, thanks to the innumerable number of schools and colleges opened and maintained by them in every direction. In Egypt, the Americans began this sort of propaganda, especially among the Copts, and in 1890 their schools were frequented by upwards of 4000 boys and 2000 girls. A decree having been passed rendering the English language obligatory for candidates for places in the different Government Departments, a great impulse has, naturally, been given to those schools where that language is taught, and these are necessarily either English or American. But the English have gone further; at least, the High Church or Ritualist portion of the Anglican Establishment. They have translated a Coptic Catechism into English, with a carefully written introduction by the Rev. Raikes Bromage, breathing throughout the most earnest desire for the reunion of the separated Eastern Churches with the Anglican Communion. His object is clearly expressed in the following passage:

"We Anglicans have simply to strengthen the hands of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and endeavour to break down the barriers which have hitherto prevented reconciliation."

This clergyman was furnished with letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Patriarch of Alexandria, who received him with the greatest kindness, and in his reply spoke of "affording him moral concurrence for the fulfilling the scope of his sacred mission, and to contribute to the riveting of the happily-subsisting brotherly relations between the two Churches, that so the longed-for unity may be effected, and that, according to the promise of our Saviour Jesus Christ, there may be 'one flock and one shepherd.'"

This same Mr. Bromage visited the Coptic monasteries in the interior, and describes his reception by the Abbot of one of them with pontifical honours, after which he "celebrated the sacred mysteries according to the Anglican rite in the chief church, with the full approval of the Abbot, who was present himself with all his brethren."

We can well believe the mystified condition of this good Abbot, who had naturally no knowledge whatever of the real position of the Anglican Establishment, and had never studied its Thirty-nine Articles! Will no one have the charity to explain to the Patriarch, before he takes any further steps to consummate this wished-for union, that the Church of England has neither valid Orders nor valid Sacraments, and that in her formularies the Blessed Eucharist and the Holy Sacrifice, which form the key-stone of the faith of all the Oriental as of the Catholic Churches, are stigmatised as "idolatrous" and "dangerous deceits."

If we pass from Egypt to Palestine and Syria we find the same active Protestant propaganda, the same means of action, and the opening of innumerable schools, largely provided with all the requisites for a first-rate education. Mr. Lawrence Oliphant asserts that the "Church Missionary Society" alone had already spent upwards of 3,000,000 of francs towards this work in Palestine.

The Rev. R. P. Marzoyer, S.J., in his "Bulletin de l'œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient," speaks of no less than thirty different Protestant sects who have opened schools in Syria, and especially in Beyrout. There is a large American University in that town, and normal schools for the training of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. M. Pélegrin confirms these statements in his *Revue Française* of the 15th of September 1892, and mentions that in Asia Minor, the Americans have two large missions, one in Cilicia, with the University of Ain-Tab, on the borders of Syria, and another in Armenia, which was founded soon after the Crimean War.

In Mesopotamia, F. Ephrem, a Capuchin, writes: "The Protestants have built a magnificent College at Karpouth which is also a normal school for the teachers in the different villages; and in our great poverty we are quite unable to compete with them."

People say and think that Protestantism is too cold a religion to attract Orientals, who have too strong a love for their ancient traditions, and too tender a veneration for our Blessed Lady to be persuaded to abandon them. But these are feeble barriers to oppose to an influence which employs both money and science to entrap souls. The facts are indubitable. Protestant schools and colleges are daily multiplied, thousands and thousands of children frequent them, and have no other teaching; and whether they will or no, these poor little things lose the faith of their baptism. Perhaps the whole of them may not become Protestants. Their fathers and mothers may keep some of them to their old creed, but inevitably doubts and confusion must arise in their minds as they grow older; and we have ample evidence of the fact that children thus trained lose all faith and cease to be Christians, save in name.

And thus [continues our author] the Oriental Churches will not only lose their existence as religious communities, but their political autonomy, which is essentially linked with their religion, will disappear at the same time. We repeat what we have said before, and that with the most profound conviction, that the Churches of the East can only maintain their existence by uniting themselves to the Catholic Church, and this view is shared by all the thinking men amongst them.

There are, nominally, four obstacles to this reunion:

1. The liturgical question.
2. That of discipline.
3. That of dogma.
4. And, lastly, the political reasons.

The first two have already been completely disposed of by the Holy See.

In the Bull of Benedict XIV., *Ex quo Primum*, it is expressly laid down that, so far from wishing the Oriental Churches to give up their liturgies or alter their discipline, both are strictly enforced.

Again, in a second Bull published in 1755, *Allata Sum*, the same Pope quotes a variety of decrees of his predecessors in the Papal chair in a similar sense, upwards of a dozen Pontiffs having ordered the strict preservation of all Oriental rites.

Pius IX. on the 6th of January 1848, repeats this injunction even more strongly. So far from wishing to alter anything in

the Oriental liturgies, the Popes have ever been their strenuous defenders. "It is not permissible," writes Benedict XIV. in his Bull *Demandatum*, "under any pretext whatever, for any individual, whether patriarch or bishop, to introduce any change or innovation in the Oriental rites."

And he adds in conclusion :

To bring back the Greeks and other separated Churches to the path of unity, it is not permitted that any change should be made in their rites. Therefore should any missionary desire to bring back an Oriental from schism to the Church of God, let him guard himself carefully from trying to make him embrace the Latin rite.

And he goes, beyond this, to threaten such a departure from his orders with deprivation of faculties and other grave penalties. He goes even further by decreeing that :

If, on any occasion, from the absence of a priest of his (or her) particular rite, any person may have received the Sacraments from a Latin priest, he (or she) is not, therefore, to be considered as having embraced the Latin rite, but shall be held to preserve that rite in which he (or she) was born, &c.

We see, therefore, how unjust and untrue is the widely-spread belief or prejudice that *to join the Roman See, the Orientals must renounce their ancient liturgies* ; and in the same explicit terms any change or innovation in their discipline has been equally strictly forbidden.

We come now to the question of dogma ; but that, in reality, is only an imaginary difficulty. Our author on this head writes :

The Oriental Churches are separated to-day because they have been so for centuries, but without clinging to the disputed points which originally separated them from the centre of unity, and of which, in many cases, they are not even aware. Nor are they at all disposed to enter the lists on these points with any theologian whatever. . . . We must clearly understand that it is not on any doctrinal or dogmatic point that the division arose, but that *after* the separation began the discussions of doctrine.

He goes on to prove conclusively that Photius had no idea whatever, in the first instance, of separating from or criticising the Church of Rome ; but that it was only when Rome refused the confirmation of his appointment as Patriarch of Constantinople that his revolt took place and the theological question was raised. He could not break with Rome without some apparent reason, and therefore resorted to this artifice. The proof of

this is, that when the Pope died who had opposed his nomination, he at once dropped the theological question and addressed letters to Rome expressing his entire concurrence with the doctrines of the Holy See, and begging the new Pope to confirm his election to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. When this was not granted and Photius was exiled, the new patriarch and his successor remained in communion with Rome till Michael Cerularius again raised a question of discipline and, furious at the disapproval of the Papal Legates, accomplished the separation.

But there is another point.

Never, since the separation of the Oriental Churches from Rome, has there been a council of the Oriental patriarchs and bishops to consider the theological questions at issue between them and the Latin Church. If, therefore, the Oriental prelates are questioned on any point, it is always to the ancient Councils that they refer, which proves that the real representatives of their doctrines are the Fathers who existed before the schism.

This being the case [continues our author], we are on ground where an understanding is easy and reunion possible. The true doctrine of the separated Churches is found in the writings of the early Fathers, in the Œcumenical Councils of the first centuries, in their venerable liturgies and their historical monuments. . . . This is the ground on which we must take our stand when we treat of the union of the Churches—the common basis admitted by all, both Easterns and Westerns, and upon which a thorough understanding has already been arrived at. . . . Let us lay aside [he concludes] bitter criticisms, exaggerated statements, and unfounded assertions. Let us, on the contrary, bring forward the identity of belief, on the main points of Catholic dogma, remembering the words of St. Augustine: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus charitas*; and we shall help the great work of reunion far more effectually than by learned dissertations on such and such points, which are far more likely to divide men's minds than to draw them nearer to one another or unite them in the bonds of charity.

There remains, therefore, but the political question, which is, in fact, the only real difficulty.

When Constantine abandoned Rome as a capital and transferred the seat of his empire to Byzantium, it was on the ground,\* "That he did not think it right or just that where

---

\* From the words of the "Donation of Constantine," preserved by the Greeks among their Canonical Laws.

the Supreme Priesthood had been Divinely instituted there should likewise be the supreme terrestrial authority."

It would not be possible to indicate more clearly the separation of the two powers. But the successors of the great Emperor did not view things in the same light, and, after a time, the Emperors of Byzantium became jealous of the supremacy of the spiritual power. They wished to have authority over both Church and State, and to attain to this end they succeeded in making a Pope of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

This, in a few words, is the history of the Greek schism.

But the principle of the subordination of the Church to the State reacted upon its authors. It was only possible, in fact, as long as the unity of the Roman Empire existed. When that Empire was broken up and Constantinople ceased to be its capital, she lost, bit by bit, the authority thus unjustly assumed. The foundation of the Patriarchate of Moscow virtually deprived her of the new Empire of Russia. "Your Patriarch is myself," exclaimed Peter the Great, and the Czars have ever since retained that power.

When Greece recovered her independence and established a kingdom, the same thing occurred ; and so on with Servia and Bulgaria.

These facts [writes our author] prove the falsehood of the principle ; for Jesus Christ did not found a series of state or national churches, independent of each other, but one Church only, under the spiritual authority of one Head, and that Head not opposed to the temporal authority, but distinct from it and destined to co-operate with it for the benefit of nations and of society. . . . Let the Churches of the East recognise these facts and learn the lesson taught them by their own history. Let them abandon the false principle which has caused their fall, and they will come back to their old strength, to their ancient splendour, and to the fecundity which has ceased since their separation. Otherwise, they will lose, bit by bit, their Christian spirit and hierarchical authority, and the Oriental Churches will cease to exist. Instead of being a support to the State, they will involve it in the like ruin ; so that politicians will be forced to recognise that it is only by union with the one Church that they can preserve their own power. For this Church alone has maintained her authority and independence, and only uses her powerful influence in the world to recommend and impose respect and submission to temporal authority. . . .

Statesmen of all shades of opinion begin to understand this. The Russian papers even begin to write in the same sense. In the *Novoie*

*Vremia* of the 14th of November it is said : "The Pope is our natural ally. Therefore Russia should prevent everything which might contribute to diminish the *prestige* of the Holy See, or weaken the power of the Pope. Without sacrificing our own interests as an orthodox Power and as a sovereign State, yet having numberless Catholic subjects, like the Poles, we can and we ought to grant large and wise concessions, to have the greatest regard for the Pope as the head of the Catholic Church, and formally to respect his rights as a temporal sovereign. This, in a word, should be the direction of our policy."

Even more recently, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, in a letter to Cardinal Rampolla, speaks of "Union, as the sole efficacious means of resisting the flood of impiety and Socialism which is overflowing the Christian world."

M. Tricoupis, in Greece, upholds with all his strength and influence the idea of union, and is propagating it in the national press, which is devoted to him.

The truth is, that not only statesmen, but all thinking men, are becoming seriously alarmed at the terrible growth of socialist, atheist, and revolutionary principles among the different nations of the earth—principles which threaten the destruction of all order and authority; and they feel that the only power which can permanently resist these dangers is that of the Holy See.

For this union, then, let all unite in earnest prayer, according to the words of our Lord Himself to His Heavenly Father: *Ut sint unum; ut sint consummati in unum*—a union desired by the East as by the West, and which is as needful for the temporal as for the spiritual welfare of the Oriental Churches.

In the closing words of Cardinal Langenieux's magnificent speech, we read as follows :

The Church can be no more divided than can the Body of Christ. In contrast to the ancient synagogue, which was essentially national, she cannot be circumscribed within the limits of a province or a nation; and as two words have personified hitherto the East and the West, we declare she is not Greek, she is not Latin; she is *Catholic*, as universal as the Divine Paternity and the Redemption of Christ. But she conforms herself admirably to the temperament of the different countries and people whom she gathers within her bosom. Like the apostle, she makes herself all things to all men, that she may save all : *Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem salvos*.

May all Christians who have at heart the souls of their brethren, the glory of their Divine Master, and the extension of

His reign upon earth, unite their prayers with this holy prelate to hasten the hour marked out by Providence, when the East and the West shall embrace one another in the bonds of charity, so that a complete union may be effected and the prayer of our Divine Master be fulfilled—"That there may be one fold and one Shepherd."

MARY ELIZABETH HERBERT.

## ART. VIII. — RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN ENGLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE history of the pre-Reformation Church in England has yet to be written. To many this may perhaps seem a somewhat bold statement in view of all that has hitherto appeared in print bearing on the ecclesiastical history of this country. Let me explain my precise meaning. For the most part, until quite recent times, the story of this England of ours has been made to consist mainly of a series of biographies of its rulers, intermingled with more or less detailed accounts of the wars and battles by which they mounted to power or rendered their names illustrious. Of the nation itself, as apart from the monarch who honoured it by ruling over it, the historian in the past troubled his readers as little as possible; and thus, whilst he might learn to know the dates of many battles and the genealogies of many royal houses, the inquirer remained practically ignorant of the English people. In a similar spirit Church annalists have not thought it their duty to record much beyond the doings of illustrious English Churchmen and the most conspicuous results which have flowed from their actions and their ecclesiastical policy generally.

Now, however, we are anxious to learn something more about the people who compose the nation, of the conditions under which they lived and acted, of their desires and aspirations, and of their struggles against difficulties external and internal. And in the same way the thoughts of all inquirers are turning more and more to a consideration of the religious side of our national life, an inquiry which promises to enlighten us at last as to the real history of the religion of the English people in the later Middle Ages and the century of the Reformation. What, for example, did our forefathers definitely believe? How were they affected by the religious system under which they lived? How were the services carried on in the churches, and what were the popular devotions of the time? Were the religious offices well frequented, and what

was the general character of the behaviour of the people whilst present at them? How did the priests instruct their flocks, and what profit did they seemingly derive from their ministrations? What did the church do for the great cause of education, and for the social and material welfare of the people at large? These and a hundred kindred questions are daily being proposed, but who is there in England to-day capable of giving any satisfactory reply to them? In order to form any judgment on these matters we should require to have the evidence still buried in our national archives beneath the dust of many centuries placed fairly and dispassionately before us. For myself, I may perhaps be permitted to say that a familiarity of some years with original and much-neglected resources has taught me as a first lesson and condition of knowledge, that I know little—or what, when compared to all that yet remains to be done, practically is very little—about the social condition, the influence and inner life of the Church of England previous to the sixteenth century. In spite of this, however, I venture here to propose for consideration an important question regarding the Church in this country during, say, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is a very simple point, but one I venture to think which has not hitherto been sufficiently considered, and one the answer to which must seriously affect our judgment as to the character of the ecclesiastical system swept away by the so-called Reformation.

The first duty of the Church, after the ministration of the Sacraments, is obviously to teach and direct its members in all matters of faith and practice, and to watch over the eternal interests of the Christian people. Was the pre-Reformation Church in England mindful of this obligation, or did it neglect so plain and essential a duty imposed upon all its ministers by its Divine Founder? This, then, is the plain question—Was there in Catholic days in England any systematic religious instruction? and if so, what was done in this important matter?

At the outset it must be admitted that the general opinion of Protestant writers has been, perhaps naturally, that in Catholic England the people were allowed to grow up in profound ignorance on all religious matters, and that there was no

systematic instruction on points of belief and observance given by the clergy. I cannot, moreover, shut my eyes to the fact that in this verdict many Catholic writers have concurred. Conversation likewise with Catholics, as well ecclesiastics as laymen, has led me to conclude that at the present day the general opinion is, that this sad and very black view of the way in which the Catholic Church of this country neglected its obvious duty of instructing the people in religion cannot be gainsaid.

It should, however, in all fairness be borne in mind, at the very outset, that up to the present time, so far as I am aware, no evidence whatever has been forthcoming, except the somewhat fervid declamations of those engaged in the destruction of the ancient faith, in support of this verdict; and one cannot but remember that barely ten years ago the English public generally implicitly believed in the traditional picture, drawn by non-Catholics in past centuries, of the appalling immoralities of monks and nuns, and the wholesale corruption of the clergy of England at the time of the suppression of the religious houses. We have lived to see a marvellous change follow upon the production of evidence. The unjust judgment after holding for many generations has now practically been reversed, and the unworthy stories originally "founded on ignorance and believed in only through the prejudice of subsequent generations have now," as the highest Protestant authority on the history of this period has declared, "gone for ever." This may well encourage a hope that an examination of evidence may lead to a similar rectification of what I firmly believe to be an equally false judgment passed upon the secular clergy of England in Catholic days, in regard to their neglect of the duty of instructing the people committed to their care.

I cannot help thinking that Chaucer's typical priest was not a mere creation of his imagination, but that the picture must have had its counterpart in numberless parishes in England in the fourteenth century. This is how the poet's priest is described:

A good man was ther of religioun,  
And was a poure parsoun of a town;  
But riche he was of holy thought and werk.  
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,

That Christe's Gospel trewely wolde preche,  
His parischens devoutly wolde he teche.

\* \* \* \* \*

But Christe's love and his Apostles twelve  
He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve.

You will remember too that the story Chaucer makes his priest contribute to the "Canterbury Tales" is nothing but an excellent and complete tract, almost certainly a translation of a Latin theological treatise, upon the Sacrament of Penance.

As a sample, however, of what is popularly believed on this subject at the present day I will take the opinion of by no means an extreme party writer, Bishop Hobhouse. "Preaching," he says, "was not a regular part of the Sunday observances as now. It was rare, but we must not conclude from the silence of our MSS. (*i.e.*, churchwardens' accounts) that it was never practised." In another place he states upon what he thinks sufficient evidence "that there was a total absence of any system of clerical training, and that the cultivation of the conscience as the directing power of man's soul and the implanting of holy affections in the heart, seem to have been no part of the Church's system of guidance."

Further, in proof that this view as to the teaching of the English Church in the latter Middle Ages is held by even Catholics, I need only quote the words of a well-known writer, to be found in the DUBLIN REVIEW for July 1891 :

At the end of the fifteenth century [writes Mr. W. S. Lilly] the Church in England, as in the greatest part of Europe, was in a lamentable condition. There is a mass of evidence that multitudes of Christians lived in almost total ignorance of the doctrines, and in almost complete neglect of the duties of their faith. The *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* formed the sum of the knowledge of their religion possessed by many, and not a few passed through the world without receiving any Sacrament save that of Baptism.

It is, of course, impossible for us to pass any opinion on the "mass of evidence" to which Mr. Lilly appeals in proof of the soundness of his sweeping condemnation of the Church, not in England merely, but "in the greater part of Europe," since he has only given us the result without furnishing us with the grounds of his judgment. For my own part I think that such general judgments must be untrustworthy, and that it is necessary—so different were the circumstances of each—to take every

country into consideration by itself. For Germany, the labours of the late Professor Janssen, even after the largest deductions have been made for a possible enthusiasm, or idealising, have conclusively proved the existence of abundant religious teaching during the century which preceded the coming of Luther. As to England, about which we are at present concerned, we can only suppose that Mr. Lilly has been engaged in researches of which, as yet, the world knows nothing. For many years having been occupied in collecting information upon this very point, I may at once say, that so far from my studies tending to confirm Mr. Lilly's verdict as to the "almost total ignorance of the doctrines," and almost "complete neglect of the duties of the faith" in which Catholics were allowed to live and die, have led me to the opposite conclusion—namely, that in pre-Reformation days the people were well instructed in their faith by priests, who faithfully discharged their plain duty in this regard.

Let me state the grounds of this opinion. For practical purposes we may divide the religious teaching given by the clergy into the two classes of *sermons* and *instructions*. The distinction is obvious; by the first are meant those set discourses to prove some definite theme, or expound some definite passage of Holy Scripture, or deduce the lessons to be learnt from the life of some saint. In other words, putting aside the controversial aspect, which, of course, was rare in those days, a sermon in mediæval times was much what a sermon is to-day. There was this difference, however, that in pre-Reformation days the sermon was not so frequent as in these modern times. Now, whatever instruction is given to the people at large is conveyed to them almost entirely in the form of set sermons, which, however admirable in themselves, seldom convey to their hearers consecutive and systematic, dogmatic and moral teaching. Mediæval methods of imparting religious knowledge were different. For the most part the priest fulfilled the duty of instructing his flock by plain, unadorned, and familiar instructions upon matters of faith and practice. These must have much more resembled our present catechetical instructions than our modern pulpit discourses. To the subject of set sermons I shall have occasion to return presently, but as vastly more important, at any rate in the opinion of our Catholic forefathers,

let us first consider the question of familiar instructions. For the sake of clearness we will confine our attention to the two centuries (the fourteenth and fifteenth) previous to the great religious revolution under Henry VIII.

Before the close of the thirteenth century—namely, in A.D. 1281, Archbishop Peccham issued the celebrated Constitutions of the Synod of Oxford which are called by his name. There we find the instruction of the people legislated for minutely :

We order [runs the Constitution] that every priest having the charge of a flock do, four times in each year (that is, once each quarter), on one or more solemn feast days, either himself or by someone else, instruct the people in the vulgar language simply and without any phantastical admixture of subtle distinctions, in the Articles of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins with their off-shoots, the seven principal virtues, and the seven Sacraments.

The Synod then proceeded to set out in considerable detail each of the points upon which the people must be instructed. Now it is obvious, that if four times a year this law was complied with in the spirit in which it was given, the people were very thoroughly instructed indeed in their faith. But, was this law faithfully carried out by the clergy, and rigorously enforced by the Bishops in the succeeding centuries? That is the real question! I think that there is ample evidence that it was. In the first place, the Constitutions of Peccham are referred to constantly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the foundation of the existing practices in the English Church. Then, to take a few specific instances in the middle of the fourteenth century, the decrees of a diocesan Synod order :

That all rectors, vicars, or chaplains holding Ecclesiastical offices shall expound clearly and plainly to their people, on all Sundays and feast days, the Word of God and the Catholic faith of the Apostles; and that they shall diligently instruct their subjects in the Articles of Faith, and teach them in their native language the Apostles' Creed, and urge them to expound and teach the same faith to their children\* (Wilkins, III. 11),

---

\* Two curious instances of the care taken by the Bishops to see that priests were able to instruct their people may be quoted. After the great plague of 1349, as is notorious, many were admitted to holy orders in order to fill the decimated ranks of the clergy without sufficient learning and preparation. On June 24, 1385, the illustrious William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, caused Sir Roger Dene, rector of the Church of St. Michael, in Jewry Street, Winchester, to swear upon the Holy Gospels that he would learn within

Again in A.D. 1357, Archbishop Thoresby, of York, anxious for the better instruction of his people, commissioned a monk of St. Mary's York, named Gotryke, to draw out in English an exposition of the Creed, the Commandments, the seven deadly sins, &c. This tract the Archbishop, as he says in his preface, "through the counsel of his clergy, sent to all his priests":

So that each and every one, who under him had the charge of souls, do openly, in English, upon Sundays teach and preach them, that they have cure of the law and the way to know God Almighty. And he commands and bids, in all that he may, that all who have keeping or cure under him, enjoin their parishioners and their subjects, that they hear and learn all these things, and oft, either rehearse them till they know them, and so teach them to their children, if they any have, when they are old enough to learn them; and that parsons and vicars and all parish priests enquire diligently of their subjects at Lent time, when they come to shrift, whether they know these things, and if it be found that they know them not, that they enjoin them upon his behalf, and on pain of penance, to know them. And so there be none to excuse themselves through ignorance of them, our father the Archbishop of his goodness has ordained and bidden that they be showed openly in English amongst the flock.

To take another example, the Acts of the Synod held by Simon Langham at Ely in A.D. 1364 order that every parish priest frequently preach and expound the Ten Commandments, &c., in English (*in idiomate communi*), and all priests are urged to devote themselves to the study of the sacred Scripture, so as to be ready "to give an account of the hope and faith" that is in them. Further, they are to see that the children are taught their prayers; and even adults, when coming to confession, are to be examined as to their religious knowledge (Wilkins, III., 59).

Even when the rise of the Lollard heretics rendered it important that some check should be given to general and unauthorised preaching, this did not interfere with the

---

twelve months the articles of faith; the cases reserved to the Bishop, the Ten Commandments; the seven works of mercy; the seven mortal sins; the Sacraments of the Church, and the form of administering and conferring them; and also the form of baptizing, &c., as contained in the constitutions of Archbishop Peccham. The same year—on July 2—the bishop exacted from John Corbet, who had been instituted on June 2 previously to the rectory of Bradley, in Hants, a similar obligation to learn the same before the feast of St. Michael then next ensuing. In the former case, Roger Dene had been rector of Ryston, in Norfolk, and had only been instituted to his living at Winchester by the Bishop of Norwich, three days before William of Wykeham required him to enter into the above obligation.

ordinary work of instruction. The orders of Archbishop Arundel in A.D. 1408, forbidding all preaching without an episcopal license, set forth, in distinct terms, that this prohibition did not apply "to the parish priests," &c., who by the Constitutions of Archbishop Peccham, were bound to instruct their people, in simple language, on all matters concerning their faith and observance. And further, in order to check the practice of treating people to such formal and set discourses, these simple and practical instructions were ordered to be adopted without delay in all parish churches.

To this testimony of the English Church as to the value attached to popular instruction, I may add the authority of the Provincial Council of York held in A.D. 1466 by Archbishop Nevill. By its decrees, not only is the order as to systematic quarterly and simple instructions reiterated, but the points of the teaching are again set out, in great detail, by the Synod.

There is, moreover, I believe, ample evidence to convince any one who may desire to study the subject, that this duty of giving plain instructions to the people was not neglected up to the era of the Reformation itself. During the fifteenth century, manuals to assist the clergy in the performance of this obligation were multiplied in considerable numbers; which would not have been the case had the practice of frequently giving these familiar expositions fallen into abeyance. Of some of these manuals I shall speak presently, and here I would note specially that one of the earliest books ever issued from an English press by Caxton, probably at the same time (A.D. 1483) as the "*Liber Festivalis*" (or book of sermons for Sundays and feast-days), was a set of four lengthy discourses published as they expressly declare to enable priests to fulfil the obligation imposed on them by the Constitutions of Peccham.\* As these were intended to take at least four Sundays, and as the whole set of instructions had to be given four times each year, it follows that at least sixteen Sundays, or a quarter of the year, was devoted to this simple and straightforward teaching, to

---

\* Probably there were many similar works issued by the first English printers. In Lansd. MS. 379, there is a *black letter* tract, printed by W. de Worde, to enable priests to comply with the command of the Synod.

every soul in the parish, what every Christian was bound to believe and to do.\*

Looking at the character of these instructions, we need not be surprised that priests should not often have thought it necessary to commit them to writing. They were given as a matter of course, as a necessary part of the round of their priestly duty, and there is naturally very little record of what must have been part of the routine of common clerical life. Let me take what is a parallel instance. Do we expect that some centuries hence there will be any evidence forthcoming to show that the clergy of the great city of London, in this year 1893, have been doing their duty in instructing the children of their schools in religious knowledge? Or, to put it another way : what explicit evidence is there likely to be, say a couple of hundred years hence (even if meantime there be no such wholesale destruction of documents as took place in the sixteenth century), that, say, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is regularly administered by our Catholic clergy to-day? For the same reason it would be asking more than we have any right to expect, to demand formal documentary evidence of the performance of this plain and well-recognised duty of religious instruction.

We have, however, I expect, sufficient material to satisfy most people. The Episcopal, or Chapter, registers fortunately in some few cases contain documents recording the results of the regular visitation of parishes. It is almost by chance, of course, that papers of this kind have been preserved. Most of them would have been destroyed as possessing little importance

---

\* The work upon which Caxton's "*Liber Festivalis*" was founded is a volume written in the early part of the fourteenth century by John Myrc. Of this see later. Here we may note that in several copies of the MSS. *Festivale* there may be found other matters useful for the priest in the work of instructing others. For example, "*De magna sententia pronuncianda, hoc modo;*" the days on which no servile work might be done, according to Archbishop Arundel's "*Constitutions*," notes on various Papal constitutions, &c. In one MS. (Harl. MS., 2403), following upon the *Festivale*, is a short explanation of the Creed, *Pater Noster*, &c. This latter instruction is introduced by the form, "Good men and women, ye shall know well yt each curate is bounden by the law of Holy Church to expound the *Pater Noster* to his parischonys twyes in the yere." The substance of these instructions is used in many copies of the sermons of the period. In the copy (MS. Reg. 18 B. xxv.) the people are addressed as "*Worschipful frendys*," or "*Worschipful and reverent frendys*." The discourses for the time about Easter appear to have been prepared to preach before the Court, as they commence with the words, "*Worschpyful sufferanc and frendys*."

in the eyes of those who ransacked the archives at the time of the change of religion. The testimony of these visitation papers as to the performance of this duty of instruction on the part of the clergy is most valuable. Hardly less important is the proof they afford of the intelligent interest taken by the lay-folk of the parish in the work, and of their capability of rationally and religiously appreciating the instructions given them by their clergy. The process of these visitations must be understood. First of all certain of the parishioners were chosen and examined upon oath as to the state of the parish, and as to the way in which the pastor performed his duties. As samples of these sworn depositions we may take what are to be found in a "Visitation of Capitular Manors and Estates of the Exeter Diocese," extracts from which have recently been printed by Prebendary Hingeston Randolph, in the Register of Bishop Stapeldon. The record of the Visitations comprises the first fifteen years of the fourteenth century; at one place, Colaton, we find the *jurati* depose that their parson preaches in his own way, and on the Sundays expounds the Gospels as well as he can (*quatenus novit*)! He does not give them much instruction (*non multum eos informat*), they think, in "the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and the deadly sins." At another place, the priest, one Robert Blond, "preaches, but," as appears to the witnesses, "not sufficiently clearly"; but they add, as if conscious of some hypercriticism, that they had long been accustomed to pastors who instructed them most carefully in all that pertained to the salvation of their souls. But these are the least satisfactory cases. In most instances the priest is said to instruct his people "well (*bene*) and excellently (*optime*)," and the truth of the testimony appears more clearly in places where, in other things, the parish-folk do not consider their priest quite perfection, as for instance at Culmstock, where the Vicar, Walter, is said to be too long over the Matins and Mass on feasts; or still more at St. Mary Church, where the people think that in looking after his worldly interests, their priest is somewhat too hard on them in matters of tithe.

The register from which these details are taken is a mere accidental survival, but the point that it is of importance to remember is this; that during Catholic times in the course of

every few years the clergy were thus personally reported upon, so to say, to the chief pastor or his delegates, and the oath of the witnesses is a proof of how gravely this duty was regarded. And here I may note in passing a fact little realised or even understood, namely, that one of the great differences between ecclesiastical life in the Middle Ages and in modern times lies in the fact that then people had no chance of going to sleep. There was a regular system of periodical visitations, and everything was brought to the test of inquiry of a most elaborate and searching kind, in which every corner was swept out.

In this special instance, before passing on, I would call attention to the manifest intelligence, in spiritual things, shown by these jurors—peasants and farmers—in out-of-the-way parishes of clod-hopping Devon, in the early years of the fourteenth century. I have a doubt whether, notwithstanding the Board-schools, any of our own country parish-folk could do better at the present day.

To assist parish priests in the preparation of these familiar discourses, various manuals were drawn up during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is possible now to refer to only one or two of the best known, for as a fact a large number of such works may be found in our national MSS. collections. I will first name the volume called "*Pars Oculi Sacerdotis*," which was probably composed either by a certain William Pagula, or Walter Parker, about the middle of the fourteenth century. It was very popular and much sought after. It is named frequently in inventories and wills, and has thus sometimes been an evident puzzle to editors. No less than five complete copies, as well as several fragments, are among the MSS. in the British Museum. It well deserved its popularity among the pre-Reformation clergy, for it not only furnishes most useful matter for the usual parish instructions, but is really a very complete manual of teaching on almost every detail of clerical life. One portion of the tract is devoted to the subject of the parochial discourses, which the author declares have to be given by all priests once in each quarter. In delivering these the priest is urged to be as simple as possible in his language, and to suit himself in every way to his audience.\*

---

\* Some further account of this important tract may be given with advan-

In another treatise closely resembling this "*Pars Oculi Sacerdotis*"—so closely, indeed, that it has sometimes been mistaken for a portion of it—is the better known "*Pupilla Oculi*" of John de Burgo, or Borough, the rector of Collingham in A.D. 1385. It was only to a certain extent original, for, as the author states in his preface, he has called it "*Pupilla Oculi*," "because it is to a large extent drawn from another work entitled '*Oculus Sacerdotis*.'" This manual also was evidently much in demand by the clergy. Numerous manuscript copies of it are in existence, and it has been printed several times. One edition, that of A.D. 1510, was issued from the press by the printer Wolfgang at the expense of an English merchant of London named William Bretton, and was sold, as the title-page sets forth, at Pepwell's

---

tage. The tract begins by instructing the priest on the *praxes confessarii*: the kind of questions it is well to ask from various people—*e.g.*, religious, secular priests, merchants, soldiers, &c. Then comes a method of examination of conscience in detail, &c. The priest is advised to urge his penitents to say seven times daily the *Pater* and *Creed* to correspond to the seven canonical hours. Should any one be found not to know these he is to be enjoined to learn them, together with the *Ave Maria*, at once. The confessor is to inculcate a devotion to the Guardian Angels upon those who come to him, and teach them some little verses to say in order to beg the protection of their guardian spirits. The verse given in the "*Dextra Pars Oculi*" may be Englished thus:

— Oh! angel who my guardian art,  
Thro' God's paternal love;  
Defend and shield and rule the charge,  
Assigned thee from above.

From vice's stain preserve my soul,  
Oh! gentle angel bright;  
In all my life be thou my stay,  
To all my steps the light.

Then follows the various modes of absolving from excommunication, &c., and in this connection copies of the reserved cases, with the *Magna Carta*, the *Carta de Foresta*, the keeping of which was enforced in A.D. 1254 by ecclesiastical censures.

The second part of the "*Dextra Pars Oculi*" deals minutely and carefully with the instructions which a priest should give his people, not only as to matters of belief, but as to decorum and behaviour in church, cemetery, &c. These materials for instructions are arranged under some thirty-one headings. Following on this are the explanations of the familiar instructions which priests were bound to give to their people four times a year and sermons on various subjects, chiefly on *temptations*.

The third part of the volume, entitled the *Sinistra Pars Oculi*, is in fact a careful treatise on the Sacraments. The instructions upon the Blessed Eucharist are especially good, and in the course of them many matters of English practice are touched upon and explanation is given of the ceremonies of the Mass.

bookshop in St. Paul's Churchyard.\* Both the "Pars Oculi" and the "Oculus Sacerdotis" bear a close resemblance to another tract called the "Regimen Animarum,"† which was apparently compiled as early as A.D. 1343.

Another sample of these priests' manuals, chiefly intended to furnish material for popular instruction, is a fourteenth-century tract called the "Speculum Christiani." It was composed by one John Watton with the distinct purpose, as the preface informs us, of aiding the clergy in giving the teaching commanded by the Constitutions of Archbishop Peccham. In many ways the "Speculum Christiani" is the most useful and important of this class of manuals. A considerable portion is given in English, each division, for example, being prefaced by simple rhymes in the vernacular, giving the chief points to be borne in mind. In fifteenth-century sermons I have frequently met with these rude rhymes, introduced into the text of a discourse, as if they were perfectly well known to the audience. At haphazard I take a couple of examples. The First Commandment is summed up thus :

---

\* Its full title is "Pupilla oculi omnibus presbyteris precipue Anglicanis necessaria." On the back of the title-page of the 1510 edition is a letter from Augustine Aggeus to W. Bretton. After saying that societies exist to propagate books, the author declares that Bretton has been induced to print the *Pupilla* by a desire that the rites and sacraments of the Church should be better known, and to secure "that nowhere in the English Church" these rites should be badly observed or understood. It is clear from the letter that W. Bretton had already had other works printed in the same way, and it is known that amongst those works were copies of Lyndwode's "Provinciale" (1505), "Psalterium et Hymni" (1506), "Horæ," &c. (1506), "Speculum Spiritualium," and Hampole, "De Emendatione Vitæ" (1510) (cf. *Ames* (ed. Herbert), iii. p. 16). Pepwell, the publisher, at the sign of the Holy Trinity, was the same who published many books printed abroad, and had dealings with Bishops Stokesley and Tunstall.

† The prologue to the "Regimen Animarum" (Harl. MS. 2272, fol. 2) says the work is compiled chiefly from the "Summa Summarum Raymundi," "Summa Confessorum," "Veritates Theologie," "Pars oculi Sacerdotes," &c. The work is divided into three parts: (1) *De Moribus et scientia presbyterorum et aliorum clericorum*, (2) *De exhortationibus et doctrinis bonis erga subditos suos faciendis*, (3) *De septem Sacramentis*.

In the second part the priest is urged to instruct his people constantly in English, and no one who will examine this portion can fail to be struck at the minute character of these instructions. It may be noted that at fol. 91b the priest is urged to teach his people to bow at the sacred name, and to add the name *Jesus* to the end of the *Ave Maria*, and to explain to them the indulgences granted to such as do so by Popes John XXII. and Urban IV.

The third part begins, in this copy, at fol. 132, and treats the Sacraments most fully. In speaking of *Confirmation*, the necessity of *consecrated oil* is insisted upon. The volume closes with a description and explanation of the canon of the Holy Mass.

Thou shalt love thy God with heart entire,  
 With all thy soul and all thy might,  
 And other God in no manner  
 Thou shalt not have by day nor night.

And the precept of keeping holy certain days is prefaced by the following :

Thy holy days keep well also,  
 From worldly works take thou thy rest ;  
 All thy household the same shall do,  
 Both wife and child, servant and beast.

The number of copies of the "*Speculum Christiani*" to be found in the Museum collection of MSS. is some ten or twelve, and this may be taken as evidence of its popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was translated into English by one John Byrd in the latter century, and was one of the earliest books ever put into type in England. An edition was printed in London by William of Machlin, at the expense of a London merchant, about A.D. 1480, and in the first decade of the sixteenth century it was reprinted, but without the English verses, at least three times.\* I cannot pass from a brief notice of this excellent manual of instructions without pointing out that in it may be found some beautiful prayers to the Blessed Sacrament and our Lady, which were formerly used by our Catholic ancestors. The English verses beginning :

Mary Mother, wel thou bee,  
 Mary Mother, think on me,

I should like to see reprinted, and, indeed, the entire manual deserves to be better known than it is amongst us to-day.†

---

\* The Museum has four printed copies : (1) the supposed print of 1480 ; (2) a copy of 1500, printed at Paris ; (3) another of 1502 ; and (4) one printed by Thomas Rees, A.D. 1513, in London. The later copies have no English verses ; but that they were intended for English use seems clear from the fact that the prologue to the volume, in which the author says that it is intended to furnish priests with material for the instructions they are bound to give by the constitutions of Peccham, is reprinted.

† Besides the volumes named in the text there are a considerable number of works of much the same kind. One such is the "*Flos Florum*," a copy of which is among the Burney MS. (No. 356) in the British Museum. It is divided into five-and-twenty books, the first being occupied with an explanation of the Lord's Prayer ; the second with a tract on the virtues and vices ; the third with an account of the priest's personal duties ; the fifth with notes on the teaching which parish priests are bound to give to their people.—Another book is called "*Cilium Oculi Sacerdotes*," and is divided into two parts. The first treats about clerical duties, and especially of the duties of a con-

Space obliges me to pass rapidly on to the second point for our consideration—that of preaching proper in the two centuries before the Reformation era. I would, however, ask you to believe that the question of popular instruction has only been touched upon. I could give many other examples of manuals such as I have here introduced to notice, and I have said nothing whatever of what may be called formal theological text-books, all of which were, of course, calculated to aid the clergy, in what the great Grosseteste calls, “as much a part of the *cura pastoralis* as the administration of the Sacraments.” I must, however, give one word of warning. When writers talk of people being taught their *Pater*, something very different is meant from the mere repetition of the words. A large number of systematic instructions during the Middle Ages were based upon the explanation of the “Our Father.” Any one who may care to pursue this subject cannot but be amazed at the ingenious way the petitions of the Lord’s Prayer are made the pegs on which to hang a definite course of teaching on the whole of Christian doctrine.\*

It is impossible to consider the subject of that systematic religious instruction which was constantly being repeated in mediæval times without wondering whether it had its proper effect upon the minds of the people. The proof of the wisdom of our forefathers is, I think, sufficiently evidenced by the history of the change of religion throughout Europe in the sixteenth century. In other words (confining our attention to England), the way in which the Catholic faith had to be uprooted from the minds of the people is surely a proof that they had been well grounded in it. Now that the real facts are becoming known it is beginning to be suspected in several

---

fessor; the second part is a tract upon the Ten Commandments. Here, as in so many similar works, some interesting points of practice in Catholic England are touched upon. For example, we read that every rector of a parish should have a cleric to assist him at the public Mass, and to read the epistle. This cleric may be vested in an alb, and besides Church duty should teach the children the creed, “*id est*, their faith,” and their “letters,” besides “teaching the singing” (Harl. MS. 4968).

\* Harl. MS. 1648, for example, is an instance of a book of instructions in Christian doctrine founded upon the petitions of the Lord’s Prayer. It is arranged in tabular form, and is most ingeniously devised to convey a great amount of solid instruction. The key to the arrangement is on fol. 1b, where it is said, *Per istas septem petitiones impetrantur septem dona Spiritus Sancti, que extrahunt a corde septem peccata mortalia et plantant in corde septem virtutes principales que nos perducunt ad septem beatitudines ad ejus merita.*”

quarters that the change of religion was brought about, not by the spontaneous acceptance by the people of Protestantism in place of the Catholic faith, but by a process of systematic and deliberate religious starvation. And taking a comprehensive survey, the Reformation in Europe, as a whole, was by no means a popular movement ; but, for the most part, the new faith was only, after many a struggle, imposed upon nations by force and the will of the Prince.

But let us turn to the question of *sermons* in the later Middle Ages. The work of instruction may be said roughly to have been the special office of the secular clergy. In the same general way preaching may be regarded as coming within the special province of the religious orders. Of course in such general statements the limit must be taken as understood ; and as a fact, at the outset, it is necessary to guard ourselves against the impression that, because the Friars gave a great impulse to popular preaching, it began with them ; just as it is useful to guard against the notion that it was Wicliff who introduced the preaching of vernacular sermons. Indeed, unless the accounts of the preaching of the Friars in the thirteenth century are mere myths, of this latter there can be no question whatever. The Dominicans and Franciscans were essentially popular preachers in the truest sense of the word. They went from village to village speaking to the people wherever they could, in public places as well as in the churches. They gathered their audiences together on the great roadways as readily as in consecrated spots. For the most part they had to do with the masses, and plain, unadorned speaking was their *forte*. As a rule they made no attempt at set and polished discourses, refraining from elaborate argument or the discussion of abstract questions. They extemporised their teaching, suiting it to the needs of the moment, and pointing their moral with anecdotes, fables, and examples. Hence their triumph. The people followed them in crowds, hung upon their words, were carried away by their earnest—albeit perhaps rough—eloquence, and made their conquest easy. But even the Friars (a century and a half be it noted before Wicliff's "poor priests") by no means commenced, though they certainly gave an impetus to, the practice of vernacular preaching. From the earliest times the people were spoken to in the

language they could understand. St. Bede, for example, describes the crowds of Saxons who flocked to their churches to hear the words of the Christian missionaries. What has misled so many writers, apparently, is the fact that the sermons which have been preserved to us from the Middle Ages are for the most part in Latin. This is true; but it is no less a fact that the preachers of those days used to compose discourses in Latin which they afterwards delivered in English, a practice which I fear might seem strange, or even intolerable, to the immense majority of the country clergymen, who in these more cultured days have received the best education the national universities can afford.

In the same way as the work of instruction proper took a fixed form, so that of preaching was fashioned on a well-understood and well-recognised model. A short exordium, following upon the chosen text of Scripture, led almost invariably to a prayer for Divine guidance and assistance, which concluded with the *Pater* and *Ave*, and only then did the preacher address himself to the development of his subject. For the most part, until comparatively recent times, which have introduced somewhat strange themes into the sacred pulpit, the sermon was based almost entirely upon the Bible, and generally upon the Gospel, or other Scripture, proper for the day. This practice, whilst it imbued the minds of those who listened with a thorough knowledge of the sacred writings, give the sermons as we read them now so great a similarity that we are apt to regard them as generally dull and uninteresting. With rare exceptions it is clear that, in England at least, brilliant, startling, and sensational sermonising was not regarded with favour, but, on the contrary, was looked on with suspicion, as savouring of the "treatise," or method of the schools, and founded on the practice of heretics.

Numerous tracts of the art of preaching, drawn up for the use of our English preachers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are still to be seen in our public libraries. I shall here refer only to one, written somewhere in the middle of the fourteenth century by the celebrated Dominican, Thomas Waleys, in order to teach the mode and form of pulpit oratory, in what he then describes as the "modern style." The whole tract is instructive, but I will here give only a

brief epitome of the first chapter, which treats of "the preacher." He should, the master declares, undertake the duty, not from vanity or love of notoriety, but from pure love of God's truth; and prayer and study should go before his work. As to his gestures, he should endeavour not to stand like a statue, nor to throw himself about regardless of decorum. He is to refrain from shouting, and not to speak so low that his audience have to strain to catch his words. He is not to speak too rapidly, nor to hesitate "like a boy who repeats lessons he does not quite understand." The theme should be spoken with great distinctness, so that all may understand the subject, and, if necessary, it should be repeated. Before his discourse the preacher should retire to some private place and thoroughly practise the sermon he is about to deliver, with the method of declamation, the gestures, and even the expressions of countenance suitable to its various parts. Finally, the author urges the advisability of having some candid and reliable friend to listen to the discourse, who will correct the faults of pronunciation, &c., when it is over. This is not such bad advice to preachers, given at a time when we are asked to believe that sermons were almost unknown! \*

Turning to the material aids to the intending preacher, we can describe them—even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—as really vast. Confining our attention, of course, to England only, we may, in the first place, note some collections of sermons for Sundays and feast-days very popular in the fifteenth century. The first course of such sermons I will mention is that drawn up by John Felton, the Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. His discourses won for him the name of *homiliarius*, or *conscionator*,

---

\* Friar Waleys, in other places in this tract—"De Arte Predicandi"—gives much excellent advice from which we may cull one or two points. Speaking of the *subject* of a sermon, he says that it is the custom (*consuetudo apud modernos*) of always having some text upon which to found a discourse. This should be a real theme, taken from Holy Scripture, and always from the Lesson, Epistle, or Gospel of the day, except on great feasts, such as Easter. Generally it should be a sentence, but sometimes it is best to take the whole Epistle or Gospel and explain its meaning, for "this kind of preaching is easy and very often greatly profitable to ordinary people." The author warns the preacher that he is not to think sermons are merely arguments; a discourse should not only convince the mind, but lead it to good affections and implant in it devout thoughts. He urges priests never to finish a sermon without some mention of Our Lady, Christ's passion, or eternal happiness.

and his course of Sunday sermons—some fifty-eight in number, and of which there are many copies among the Museum manuscripts—were much used by subsequent preachers. In his preface our author states, that on account of the poverty of those who are students in moral and dogmatic theology, and consequently by reason of the few books they are able to obtain to help them, he has been induced by the importunity of friends to draw up, for the use of any priest having the cure of souls, a course of sermons founded on the Gospels of the Sundays. “They are,” he adds, “merely the crumbs I have collected as they have fallen from the tables of my masters, whose names I have given in the margin.” A note in one of the copies among the Harleian MSS. says that the sermons were published in the year 1431.\* They are, I fancy, for our modern taste too much divided and subdivided, and I have little doubt they would be to-day voted “dry.” Various authorities are cited in the margin, as for example Waleys’, the “*Vitæ Patrum*,” &c., and stories are frequently introduced to drive home a point, or fix the attention on a moral. Although the series is complete, I fancy the discourses were really intended rather as a help to the priest in the preparation of his Sunday sermon than as a collection of sermons to be preached exactly as they are set down. The stories, for example, are often mere indications of what were then doubtless well-known anecdotes, but the memory of which has long since perished. Especially is this the case where English and local examples are referred to, as: “Note about the man in Bristol”; or “About the woman in London, to whom our Lord showed His heart.” At the end of every copy of these Sunday discourses

---

\* In one copy of these “*Sermones Dominicales*” (Harl. MS. 868, fol. 2) is the following note: “In nomine Dne nre Ihu Xpe cui sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Hoc opus completum fuit a venerabili viro Domino, Johe Felton, vicario perpetuo ecclesia parsch. Beate Marie Magdalene, Oxon; Lincoln dioc. in anno Dne 1431.” Leland says of John Felton: “He was an eager student of philosophy and theology; (yet) the mark towards which he earnestly pressed with eye and mind was none other than that by his continual exhortations he might lead the dwellers on the Isis from the filth of their vices to the purity of virtue.” Besides the “*Sermones Dominicales*,” in some copies (e.g., Harl. MS. 5396, fols. 143–209) there is another collection of fifty sermons of a more miscellaneous nature. In his illustrative stories he uses Pliny, Seneca, &c., freely, and as a rule the sermon is shorter than the more formal discourse for the Sunday. Besides set sermons Felton drew up for the use of preachers and other teachers an “*Alphabetum Theologicum*,” from the works of Bishop Grosseteste.

I have examined, there is a careful and copious subject-index; and many indications are given, by subsequent sermon-writers, of the influence of this collection upon the preaching of the age.

Another set of sermons, evidently much in use in the fifteenth century, and many copies of which are still in existence, is that known as the "*Liber Festivalis*" of John Mirk, a canon regular of Lilleshull. This author is perhaps best known by his tract entitled "*Instructions for Parish Priests*," which was published some years ago by the Early English Text Society. He lived much about the same time as Felton, namely, about the middle of the fifteenth century, and his sermons were intended for use on the higher festivals of the Christian year. I should like to quote a few words of his preface, putting it, however, into modern English.

God, maker of all things [he says], be at our beginning, and give us all His blessing, and bring us all to a good ending, Amen. By my own feeble lecture I feel how it fareth with others that are in the same degree (as I am), who having charge of souls are obliged to teach their parishioners on all the principal feasts of the year. But many have as excuse, the want of books and the difficulty of reading, and therefore to help such mean clerks, as I am myself, I have drawn this treatise.

The sermons themselves are short, and frequently afford interesting information as to Catholic practices in those days. There is always one, and often there are two or more anecdotes, and whilst many of these may perhaps appear to us somewhat grotesque and absurd, a study of the whole series of sermons cannot but impress us with a belief that the priest who could use them must have been upon terms of most familiar intercourse with his people, and unless religious instruction had been constantly and regularly given, he never could have talked to them as he is made to do in these sermons.\*

---

\* A few extracts from some of these popular instructions on the feasts of the Church may be given. The following, addressed, as the rubric directs at the *Tenebræ*, or office of Matins, on the last days of Holy Week, after the Hours were finished, and "before the discipline is given to the people," was to be addressed to them "good men and women, as you see, these three days, the service is said at eventide in darkness. Wherefore it is called among you 'tenabulles,' but holy Church calleth it *tenebras*; that is to say, 'darkness,' and why this service is performed in darkness the holy fathers assign three reasons," &c. The people are then urged to be present at these services, and to obey the common practice of coming to them in silence and thinking upon Christ's passion.

In the instruction on Maundy Thursday, after explaining that the Church

The "*Liber Festivalis*," printed by Caxton in A.D. 1483, although by no means identical with John Mirk's, is practically founded upon it. It has sermons for nineteen Sundays and ferias, commencing with the first Sunday of Advent and ending with *Corpus Christi* day. These are followed by discourses for forty-three of the chief holidays and Saints' days of the year, and one sermon, suited for the anniversary of the dedication of a parish church. Then come somewhat detailed explanations of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments, &c. At the close of the fifteenth century the general popularity of the "*Liber Festivalis*" may be gauged by the fact that it was printed twice by Caxton, twice by Wynkyn de Worde, twice by Pynson, once by an English printer, whose name is unknown, in A.D. 1486, and thrice abroad before the close of the century.

The foregoing are samples of the many collections of sermons—chiefly for the Sundays of the year—which were clearly used by the English preachers in discharge of their duty of teaching, in the later Middle Ages. But besides these collected sermons, which might be either used to draw material from, or preached just as they stood, there were many books intended for the purpose of helping priests in the preparation of their discourses. As an example of these aids to preachers, we may take the well-known "*Summa Predicantium*," drawn up by the English Dominican, John Bromyard, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. There is a good copy in the King's Library at the British Museum, which formerly belonged to the Rochester Monastic Library. The book—a very large thick folio volume—is drawn up alphabetically, and information can thus be obtained with the greatest facility on most matters upon which a preacher is likely to need instruction. An examination of its contents will prove to any one

---

calls it "Our Lord's Supper day," the author continues: "It is also in Englis tong schere thursday, for in owr olde fadur dayes men wolden yt day makon sheron hem honest, and dode here hedes and clyppon here berdes and so makon hem honest agen astur day; for ye moroze yei woldon done here body non ese, but suffur penaunce, in mynde of Hym yt suffurd so harte for hem. On Saturday thai myghte nozte whyle, what for long service, what for othur occupacion that thai haddon for the weke comynge," &c. In the sermons there are many indications of Catholic practice, as for example, that procession was made to the font of the church for the seven days after its blessing on Holy Saturday. In the short instruction on the Assumption, the author introduces a hymn to our Blessed Lady, which he urges his audience to learn by heart and constantly repeat.

who doubts that it must have been a mine of wealth to a priest engaged in the work of preaching. Bromyard's work was printed abroad, twice in the fifteenth century and again in the middle of the sixteenth.\*

Another work, similar to the "Summa Predicantium," was drawn up by Alan of Lynn, a Carmelite, who wrote much in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The mere list of his works fills the best part of a closely-printed page of Tanner, and a large portion of his labours was directed to lighten the work of preachers in the preparation of their sermons. Of course the writers of the period drew much, especially on all matters concerning natural history, from the work of Bartholomew the Englishman—sometimes called Glanville—a Minorite friar who taught in France during the thirteenth century. His book, "De Proprietatibus Rerum," alongside of that of Vincent of Beauvais, was the Encyclopædia of the Middle Ages, and all his facts were arranged with a moral and religious object. It was translated into English by Trevisa in A.D. 1398 and had been printed in fourteen or fifteen editions before the year 1500.†

In sermons of the period, about which we are engaged, I

\* The theological *common-place books* which still exist in MS. prove that the clergy often took great pains to adapt their studies to the work of teaching. To take an example: Harl. MS. 2344, is a theological note-book certainly used, and possibly drawn up in the fifteenth century by one John Chapman, "Rector of Honey-lane," London. Chapman was a doctor in theology, and, from 1493 to 1505, appears to have sometimes occupied the pulpit at Paul's Cross, since he gives, on the first leaf of his note-book, a list of his sermons delivered in that celebrated London pulpit. The interest of the small volume lies in the fact that it is a collection of notes on a great variety of theological matters. They are in a form which would probably be considered most useful for referring to. In the margin a number is set against each *distinction*, thus,

71 and at the end is an alphabetical index—e.g., *De Pilati et Herodis concordia mystice intellecta* 71.

† The work of another Dominican, Robert Holcot, called "Pro Christi verbum Evangelizantibus," deserves to be mentioned as much used in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Wood states that Holcot was "first a lawyer, and afterwards a friar preacher." He studied at Oxford, and was the friend of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham. He was a great lecturer on Holy Scripture, and is said, with some probability, to have been the real author of the "Philobiblion," now claimed for Richard de Bury. His work in aid of preachers was printed in Paris in 1510 and 1513. Besides this a small work, which may be described as skeleton sermons for the "Themata Dominicalia," was drawn up by him, and is known as the "Dieta Salutis." Seven or eight copies of this work are among the British Museum MSS. Holcot died in the fatal year of the great plague, 1349.

have met with many references to a work evidently very similar to Bromyard's "Summa," called the "Alphabetum Predicantium." The work also of another English Dominican, Nicholas Gorham—"Thema et distinctiones"—furnished not only the skeleton for a sermon, but material wherewith to clothe it, arranged alphabetically and with a good index of words. The influence of Gorham can be traced in the preachers whose works have come down to us (although, by the way, his name is not even mentioned in the great "National Biographical Dictionary").\* One Northern priest, Robert Ripon, probably a monk of Durham, for example, is constantly quoting him as his authority. The volume of sermons by this Durham monk may be noted in passing. It is not a complete course, but a somewhat miscellaneous collection. The Sundays of Lent, for example, and those of the Spring quarter, have often as many as eight sermons for a single day, and there are some six or eight discourses preached at various Synods at Durham. In one of these the preacher strongly urges upon all who have the care of souls a diligent study of the Bible, for he says: "Curates are bound to have a knowledge of Scripture, for preaching the Word of God to their people." Running through all the sermons *de Synodis*, moreover, is the same plain demand for learning and piety of life on the part of the priest, and the same insistence upon the obligation they were under to preach constantly to their people.

The study of Scripture urged by this Northern preacher must certainly have been practised throughout the whole period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We have remarked before that the sermons were, as a rule, Scriptural expositions, illustrated chiefly from the Holy Writ, and it is impossible to read them without rising from the study with a profound belief in the detailed knowledge of the Bible possessed alike by priest and people. The clergy from early times had vast storehouses, both of Biblical and patristic knowledge in the great *glossed*

---

\* Gorham was certainly an Englishman (see Tanner). He was apparently first a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and subsequently became a Dominican, and, going abroad, was confessor to Philip the Fair of France. He taught much in Paris, and was esteemed an eloquent preacher. He died in A.D. 1298. The Sunday sermons in Harl. MS. 755, fols. 1-148, were attributed by Warley to Gorham, at least in part. His book of Dominical sermons was printed at Paris in 1509, under the title of the "Golden Foundation."

texts, which, together with the words of Scripture, presented the interpretations given by the chief fathers of the Church. Before the close of the fourteenth century, moreover, the great value of an index for the purposes of study had been recognised in England, and many earnest workers had devoted their energies mainly to throwing open, by means of their *tabulæ*, or indexes, what had hitherto been unworked and closed mines of buried knowledge. The value of this all-important labour has not been sufficiently recognised in the past; but, amongst those conspicuous in this work, we may name Alan, the Carmelite, of Lynn, and later than him, Abbot Whethamsted of St. Albans. A glance at the works of the former will show all that he did in this matter. Concordances and subject-indexes to the Bible, specially for the use of preachers, were multiplied in the early part of the fifteenth century; and the works of the fathers, chronicles, and even the sermons, of such a comparatively recent preacher as Bishop Grosseteste, had copious and well-arranged indexes made to them.

Whilst upon this subject I cannot refrain from calling attention to the great Catalogue of Monastic and Collegiate Libraries of England, drawn up in the fourteenth century by a monk of Edmundsbury "for the use and profit," as he says, "of students and preachers." For this reason it was called by him a *Promptuarium*. The list is arranged so that by the help of numbers attached to each monastery it might at once be seen where any given work could be found in the English fourteenth-century libraries. Thus, for example, suppose a student or preacher wished to consult the sermons of St. Anselm, a glance at Boston or Bury's list would show him the numbers 89, 43, 19, 116, 166, and 65 placed against the title of this work. Turning next to the key list of Monastic libraries, he would at once be able to tell that complete copies were to be seen in the libraries of Bermondsey, Woburn, St. Paul's, London, Shrewsbury, Hexham, and Ramsey. The use made of this catalogue for preaching purposes is evidenced by the way in which the Franciscans subsequently arranged the list of libraries for their own members, to correspond with the seven "Custodies," or divisions, into which the Franciscan province of England was apportioned. But, although no account of the preaching in the two centuries, before the change of religion, would have

been complete without some mention of this gigantic work of Boston of Bury, I have been able, of course, merely to refer to it. To do justice to it, the subject would require an article to itself.

Before passing away from the question of material aids to preachers in the later mediæval period, it is proper to advert briefly to the various collections of stories intended to adorn and lighten the dulness of ordinary discourses. Tales, examples, and even fables with moral applications were apparently introduced into the pulpit in very early times. From the days of St. Gregory the Great the practice of pointing a moral by the relation of an anecdote is clearly evidenced, but its ordinary use may be said to date from the rise of the Dominicans in the thirteenth century. Very shortly afterwards collections of "histories," suitable for the purpose, began to appear. In A.D. 1294, for example, a Dominican, Etienne de Besançon, composed his "*Alphabetum exemplorum*" believing, as he says in his preface, that "an example is more efficacious than the most subtle preaching." From the first the authorities were urgent as to the need of caution in the use of these embellishments, but the practice once introduced soon became general. Even before the close of the thirteenth century Dante refers, with some regret, to the growing habit of making people laugh in sermons. But Chaucer's *pardoner* knew well the taste of lay people for pulpit stories when he says:

For lewed (i.e., unlearned) people loven tales olde.

The well-known "*Gesta Romanorum*," probably of English origin, the "*Vitæ Patrum*," and the lives of the saints generally, furnished the mediæval preacher with ample material for his anecdotes, and many collections of appropriate stories, arranged under useful moral headings, were at hand to assist him. Local colouring is often met with, and several volumes of *Historettes* for English preachers, drawn up in the fourteenth century, are known. Quite recently one such work, by a hitherto unknown English Franciscan writer, Nicholas Bozon, has been published in France; and the evident common origin of stories found in sermons of the fifteenth century shows, as we should have expected, that there was no lack of material of this kind.

I have pointed out that for the most part parochial sermons

were founded upon Scripture—chiefly upon the Scripture proper for the Sunday—upon which they were preached. There are, however, of course, many examples of set discourses at this period upon other, and, as some may think, more entertaining themes. The subject is so vast that I can give but few examples of such sermons. The first collection of English set discourses I recall to mind, not to speak of the great Grosseteste, is that of the sermons of the celebrated Richard FitzRalph. Archbishop of Armagh—a learned man, best known, perhaps, as the uncompromising opponent of the privileges claimed by the Mendicant Friars.\* Although written in Latin, the discourses were, as they expressly state, preached in English. Many were delivered in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral during the time FitzRalph was dean; others were preached in the cemetery of the hospital, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, and elsewhere in the City and neighbourhood; whilst others again were delivered at St. Paul's Cross, London, and at various other places in England and Ireland. It may seem somewhat strange, perhaps, that the sermons of so well known a man as FitzRalph have never been printed, but such is the case. I note that on more than one occasion FitzRalph, preaching about the year 1340, is said to have commenced his sermon by reading the whole Gospel in English—an interesting and significant fact. The most celebrated of these discourses were preached in A.D. 1356 at St. Paul's Cross, and in them he

---

\* FitzRalph was born at Dundalk, co. Louth. Some of his early life was spent in the household of that learned lover of books, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham. Amongst his companions here were Thomas Bradwardine, afterwards archbishop, Walter Burley, and Robert Holcot, afterwards the celebrated Dominican preacher. When, as Archbishop of Armagh, FitzRalph was asked to preach at St. Paul's upon the great question of the friars' privileges, Richard Kilmington, also an old friend of his, was dean. In his work, "*Defensio Curatorum*," the archbishop says that having come to London on business connected with his see, he found great disputes going on between the secular clergy and the Mendicant orders, and after much pressing he consented to preach on the subject at the Cross, *in vulgari*, some eight sermons. His propositions gave great offence to the Minorites, and he was summoned to Rome to answer their accusations. His chief contention appears to be that people ought to confess to their parish priest in their parish church at least once a year, just as they were bound to make their offerings in their own parish church twice or three times yearly. He complains that the friars used their faculties to entice children to join them, and that once they entered their ranks not even parents were allowed to see their sons except in the presence of professed friars. He adds that, for fear of the influence exerted by members of the mendicant orders, parents were beginning to hesitate about sending their children to Oxford.

fiercely attacked the Friars' privileges. They are certainly bold and vigorous enough in their language, and we cannot but be astonished at the way the Archbishop, speaking on behalf of the Bishops of England, could possibly have addressed himself to so burning a question in the public pulpit at St. Paul's. We judge, however, that he was not entirely free from interruption, for he tells us himself that, in reply to an objection raised by a friend of the Friars in one of these celebrated sermons, he replied: "If you will prove that our Lord ever really begged His bread, I will give you this Bible I hold in my hand."

St. Paul's Cross, be it remarked by the way, at that time and for many years before, "of which there is no memory," says Stowe, was the most celebrated pulpit in England. Some of the sermons preached there help us to realise a scene now long passed away, and to fix a spot upon which, in ages past, so many London audiences have gathered to listen to the voice of the most renowned preachers of the time. The very memory of the spot has almost faded away. It stood—a raised platform beneath a great timber cross—in the open air, and in the midst of the chief burial-ground of the metropolis. There, except in bad weather, when the covered space, called "the shrowds," was used, the great English sermons of the day were preached; and the site often suggested a moral to the speaker. "The audience of the dead bodies under your feet," one is reported to have said, "is as great and greater, as good and better, than you."

Learned and greatly interesting as are the sermons of Archbishop FitzRalph, they cannot, in my estimation, compare with those of another English preacher, whose name I need not give, who lived but a few years later, and who often occupied the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, and must have deeply stirred the hearts of his audience by his exceptional eloquence. His sermons are, I fancy, but little known, but there are more than 250 of them in existence. Though preached in English, they were written in free or even elegant Latin, and, if only by reason of the many historical and topical allusions to be found in them, they fully deserve a place among the monuments of our national literature. I only wish that time would permit me to quote a few samples, not only of this preacher'

eloquence, but of the manly vigour with which he publicly attacked abuses, even in the highest places of the land.

The foregoing are imperfect, and, I admit most fully, but detached specimens of the information which lies ready at hand, but which, I fear, is little attended to either by the popular writer or the learned historian. In fact, the difficulty is quite to realise how best to bring home to people the truth in matters such as these. We have been so long accustomed to round assertions, evidently based upon fancy rather than on fact, that in treating a matter such as this, I myself feel as if I were exaggerating, and so hardly know how to deal with, or even justly to appreciate, the facts which crowd themselves upon the mind of any one who will take the trouble—the patient trouble—to inquire. Thus, in this supposed era of “no preaching,” I find that, taking only those who have left evidence in the shape of written collections of sermons, the names of at least 200 sermon writers are known to us as having lived and written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most of these, moreover, be it remarked, are Carmelites, the least numerous of the four Mendicant orders. Are we to suppose that this phenomenon is due to the fact that the Carmelites had in Bâle a capable bibliographer, or rather that, whilst the members of the order of Mount Carmel preached, the other Mendicants were all the time “dumb dogs?” On Mr. Lilly’s hypothesis this latter is the more probable alternative. For my own part I am inclined to think that the record of a vast mass of sermon literature of the two periods previous to the Reformation has perished, simply because the Franciscans and Dominicans, not to mention the other great orders, possessed no Bâle to register their sermon writers. Still less fortunate, of course, would be the secular clergy, who did not form a corporate body with corporate interests. Hence I would conclude that the list of preachers and sermon writers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (given in, say, Pitts or Tanner) only contains a proportion—in fact, I may say a small proportion—of those who actually lived in that period. Yet even this list contains a very respectable number of names.

It must be long before even a fair sketch of the history of preaching and instruction in England during the later Middle Ages can be drawn. Even in the British Museum alone it is

necessary to examine and weigh the contents of some hundreds of manuscript volumes. It is a case of which we may truly say *labor est ante nos*. But already one or two points of importance stand out clearly from a background of much that is yet vague. First and foremost, it is certainly untrue that religious instruction, in the highest sense of the word, was neglected in pre-Reformation England. Next to this is the prominence given to familiar instruction, as distinct from preaching, and the importance which in Catholic days was attached to the constant—the perpetual reiteration of the same lessons of faith and practice. It may be said that this must have produced a certain sense of sameness, and that education has altered matters in our own times. In point of fact, however, no amount of education really affects these truths, still less does it advance them. The only question is, how best the truths of religion are impressed upon the mind. I must own to a belief that at the present day our Catholic people have not that clear understanding nor that firm grasp of the great simple truths of their religion which they ought to have. Nor need we be astonished if this be the case: for is there much exaggeration in the statement that after leaving school Catholics now seldom receive regular and systematic instruction upon the elements of faith and practice during the rest of their lives? Here we are living in the midst of Protestants, and I would ask if, when the whole nation was Catholic and had been so for generations, when the very atmosphere which Englishmen breathed was impregnated with Catholicity, it was considered necessary never to cease repeating instructions of what, for lack of a better expression, I may call “the Penny Catechism type,” it can be safe in these days of vagueness and latitudinarianism to rely—I may say exclusively—for the teaching of our people on the formality of set sermons?

Of course I must be understood as not wishing unduly to obtrude these considerations; but in investigating the history of religion among the English people many doubts such as these force themselves on the attention of the inquirer, and many a practical question is raised in his mind of which at the outset he had no suspicion.

## Science Notices.

---

**The Duration of the Electric Spark.**—Professor Boys in the course of his experiments in photographing flying bullets by the light of electric sparks, has had occasion to investigate the question of the time occupied by the appearance of the electric spark. This has been generally regarded as practically instantaneous, but the experiments of Professor Boys show that electric discharges, notwithstanding their comparative rapidity, have, like lightning flashes, their degrees of long and short, according to circumstances. They also show how one experimenter in this latest branch of so-called instantaneous photography can measure and even control the duration of the spark, adjusting its duration and intensity to a nicety. In these experiments Professor Boys again displays that power of simplification of apparatus which has so marked his past work—a power which, though inimical to the interests of the instrument-maker, is invaluable to the investigator. To find the duration of various sparks, Professor Boys makes use of the revolving mirror. The mirror he employs is made of hardened steel, and, worked by an electric motor, runs at the speed of 1000 turns a second. The light from any spark under examination is focussed by the mirror upon a photographic plate. If an electric spark were really instantaneous when the mirror is revolving, the image would be as clear and sharp as if the mirror were at rest, but all electric sparks when thus examined by the mirror in motion show an elongated band of light. At a recent lecture given by the Professor he made use of his mirror to focus a beam of light upon the screen. When he turned the mirror slowly, the spot of light was drawn out into a band reaching across the screen, and, as he stated, this is described over and over again as the mirror revolves. If the mirror is revolving once a second it can be shown that the spot of light is revolving 250 feet a second. If the mirror is revolving 1000 times as fast, the spot of light will traverse the screen 1000 times as fast also, which Professor Boys describes as a speed of about 250,000 feet a second, or 160,000 miles an hour—a speed 200 times as great as that of a Martini-Henry bullet. In Professor Boys' words, "It is not difficult, therefore, to observe how long a spark lasts when its image can be whirled along at such a speed as this." As one example of a photograph of the elongated band of a spark, Professor

Boys exhibited that of a spark made between magnesium terminals, by the discharge of a condenser of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  square feet of window glass, the spark being one-eighth of an inch long. Below the band there is drawn a scale of millionths of a second. The Professor stated that if the spark had been instantaneous, it would have been seen as a fine vertical line. The line, however, is drawn sideways to an extent depending on the duration of the spark. A spark thus produced between magnesium terminals, though it is exceptionally brilliant owing to the presence of the metal magnesium, and thus in one way suited for photographic purposes, is, however, not suitable for photographing objects in exceeding rapid motion, such as flying bullets. The spark, except at the ends, lasts less than one millionth of a second, but the ends remain alight as long as six or seven millionths. Professor Boys has found it necessary in the case of his photographs of flying bullets to abolish the magnesium terminals, and in fact to avoid all easily volatilised metals, such as brass, which contains zinc, and to use beads of copper or platinum. The duration of the spark can be further reduced by diminishing the size of the condenser, though there is a limit beyond which this cannot be done, without lessening the light, and also by using broad and short bands of copper instead of wire for the discharge circuit. This increases the light. Professor Boys says that the best spark he has yet produced for instantaneous photographic purposes, is obtained from a condenser whose surface is one square foot. The bands of copper in the discharge circuit are two inches broad and about four inches long apiece. To ensure extra good contact between these copper bands and the tinfoil surface, there are long radiating tongues of copperfoil soldered to the end of the copper bands. The spark terminals are knobs of platinum, though copper seems to answer the purpose equally well as the former more expensive metal. The whole of the light is extinct in less than one millionth of a second, while the first blaze, which, as Professor Boys explains, is practically the whole spark, lasts less than ten millionths of a second. "It lasts so short a time that it bears the same relation to one second that one second bears to four months; or, again, a magazine rifle bullet travelling at the enormous speed that is now attained by the use of this weapon, cannot go more than one four-hundredth of an inch in this time." With such an electric spark the Professor has succeeded in obtaining a series of photographs of flying bullets which show the projectile on its course as sharply and clearly as if it was at complete rest, and also brings into view on the plate of the camera the curious and suggestive phenomena of atmospheric waves in front and behind the bullet.

**The Lantern Stereoscope.**—An inventor who could produce on a screen photographic pictures with the objects standing out in stereoscopic relief, so that a whole audience could see the effect, without the aid of a special appliance applied to individual eyes, would reap an easy fortune. But with our present knowledge of the laws of optics, such a result seems to be impossible. Mr. John Anderton has invented a lantern stereoscope, but, unfortunately for the commercial value of the invention, the stereoscopic effects of the pictures thrown on the screen are only visible when the spectator applies to his eyes a pair of tubes, in external appearance something like an opera-glass. Thus the practical application of the arrangement is limited. It could not be well used for a lecture, illustrated by lantern views, as it would be difficult to supply a large audience of perhaps a thousand persons with the necessary apparatus, and possibly the audience would weary of perpetually viewing the picture through the tubes. To obtain the effect, the slides used are those taken by a stereoscopic camera. The two images are superposed on the screen as nearly as possible. The light from each lens of the lantern is polarised, one beam in a vertical plane, the other in a horizontal plane, and the projection is viewed through a binocular analyser, consisting of two tubes, in each of which there is a plate of glass set at an angle to the line of vision. By means of this analyser, the right eye can only see the image portrayed in vertically polarised light, and the left eye can only see it in horizontally polarised light. Thus each eye only sees one of the stereoscopic views, and the two being thus conveyed to the brain separately, there is a stereoscopic effect.

---

**Electric Railways.**—**The Heilmann Hundred-ton Electric Locomotive.**—The City and South London Electric Railway, which at the time of its opening was described in this REVIEW, has now been working long enough for an estimate to be formed as to the financial efficiency of this system of locomotion for short railways. According to Dr. Edward Hopkinson, the experience gained in working this line has more than realised the anticipation of the contractors, who of all others might be expected to be most sanguine. When Messrs. Mather and Platt undertook the construction of the line they guaranteed that the cost of traction for a service of 8247 miles per week as actually run should not exceed 6·3*d.* per train mile, exclusive of the driver's wages. The actual cost comes out at 5·1*d.* per train mile. The generator station of this line produces electric energy at a cost of 1·56*d.* per Board of Trade unit, which is less

than the annual average cost of production of any electric station in England, if we except Bradford, where coal and labour are cheap. In its output it heads the list of any central station. In 1892 it delivered 1,250,000 Board of Trade units, the second on the list being the St. James's and Pall Mall with 1,186,826 units. The success of the enterprise has encouraged the construction of other short electric railways. Liverpool can now boast of its overhead railway, which has been lately constructed by Dr. Edward Hopkinson. This line appears to be meeting with the patronage of the public. The total number of passengers carried since the opening is 1,370,742, and the directors' report states that a contract has been entered into for the extension of the railway to Crossby Road, Seaforth. On all existing electric railways, with the single exception of the Buda-Pesth tramway, the uninsulated rails of the permanent way are made use of for the return current, but, as Dr. Edward Hopkinson has recently pointed out, it is doubtful whether such a system can be considered final, as it creates differences of potential in the earth, which have already produced disturbing effects in the instruments in observatories, and on telegraphs and telephones. He thinks with reason that probably legislation will have to step in to restrict the use of the earth for only the passage of the delicate currents used in the operations of telegraphy and telephony. Such disturbing effects are obviated by the use of an insulated return. Dr. Edward Hopkinson urges another argument in its favour. He maintains that the insulated rail is a danger to horses and other animals, many animals, and notably horses, being far more sensitive to electric currents than man. He gives it as a fact that a shock of 250 volts is quite sufficient to kill a horse almost instantaneously. This is considered a low voltage.

While in this country we are turning our attention to constructing electric railways for short distances only, and running our electric trains at such very moderate speeds as about 13 miles an hour, certain enterprising engineers on the Continent and in America are turning their attention to the possibility of long distance lines, and tremendous speeds that will eclipse anything accomplished by steam locomotives. They already anticipate that the speed of 150 or even 200 miles an hour may be realised. Experiments were recently made by Mr. G. Weems, at Laurel, U.S., on a circular line two miles in length, when a small cigar-shaped locomotive was used. The locomotive is said to have attained a speed of 116 miles an hour.

Amongst the various projects for long distance railways is one proposed by Dr. Wellington Adams, for a railway from St. Louis to Chicago (248 miles). The system projected is a high-speed motor

car, with two pairs of driving wheels 6 feet in diameter, weighing about 15 tons and capable of developing about 800 electrical horsepower. To work the line, high tension currents are proposed to be transmitted from central stations, 55 to 40 miles apart, by overhead conductors, to transformer stations, 10 miles apart, along the line, whence low tension currents are to be supplied to the motors of the cars by overhead wires. M. Zypernowsky has proposed another scheme for a line from Buda-Pesth to Vienna (150 miles), to be constructed on similar principles. Some engineers think that the existing railroads should be utilised for electric traction, instead of making new ones at enormous cost. It is estimated that the Buda-Pesth and Vienna line is to cost £80,000 per mile. But, as Dr. C. S. Du Riche Preller has recently pointed out in an instructive article in *Engineering*, the system of fixed conductors fed from central and transformer stations, and the speed of 160 miles per hour, are not adapted to ordinary railroads.

The points and crossings at junctions and intermediate stations, the comparatively short distances at which the protecting signals are placed, and the numerous level crossings alike would render the running at such speeds extremely dangerous; nor are the gradients, the curves, and the permanent way generally adapted for them; and again, in order to supplant steam locomotives on a given railway system, conductors would have to be placed, not only on the main-line, but also on all branches and sidings. All this would, therefore, require a total transformation of the existing lines, and a correspondingly enormous outlay of capital.

M. J. J. Heilmann, of Paris, is just completing an electrical locomotive which is shortly to be tried on the French State Railways. This has been designed to avoid the expense of making special railways, or that of altering existing ones, as it will dispense with all overhead or underground conductors and contact rails. In point of speed, M. Heilmann is not so ambitious as some of his contemporaries. He only promises that his engine will drive express trains at a speed of 60 or 70 miles an hour (maximum 100 miles), while at lower speeds it will be available as a powerful goods engine. At first sight this locomotive seems devoid of all principles of economy in the transformation of energy, for it carries with it the boiler and steam engine, the dynamo machine for working the motors, the exciting dynamo and its steam engine, and the motors, the whole machine weighing one hundred tons. But in practice it may be found that the waste in energy in the various stages of transformation may be compensated by other advantages; for instance, as Dr. Du Riche Preller points out, under some conditions of working the steam is used more uneconomically in an ordinary locomotive than in a well-designed engine employed in generating electric currents; for in-

stance, "in hauling a train up an incline, when the steam locomotive requiring its maximum tractive force at its minimum speed, has to work at maximum admission, the electrical locomotive can, on the other hand, develop its maximum electrical tractive force by simply increasing the speed of the generating steam engine (and hence of the dynamo) without increasing the normal admission of steam."

Then a point in its favour is that the whole weight of the locomotive is used for adhesion without the use of coupling rods. Another advantage would seem to be that every axle can be actuated independently of the others by its own motor. In this locomotive the continuous current is used, the dynamo being one constructed on the Brown system, having six poles and a gramme ring armature with cross connections. Its normal output at 360 revolutions a minute is 1025 ampères, at 400 volts or 410 kilowatts, equal to 560 effective horse-power, or 93 per cent. efficiency of the steam engine. The eight axle-wound continuous current motors have each four poles with only two bobbins. The armature is a gramme ring with Pacinotti teeth. The weight of the whole motor, mounted and complete, is 2·7 tons. It is mounted on a steel tube fitted to the wheel axle. Although this peculiar electrical locomotive does not promise the high speeds which other engineers are proposing, still on account of its easy adaptation to ordinary railways, the coming trials will excite keen interest. But whether or not it is destined eventually to supplant the steam locomotive on the French railways, it is likely that the latter highly perfected machine will die hard.

---

**The Hydrophone.**—At the *soirée* of the Royal Society, held last June, Captain McEvoy's hydrophone was exhibited. This instrument seems likely to prove an addition to the multiple scientific resources of modern warfare. It is an undoubted advantage for the commander of a fleet to be warned of the approach of a hostile man-of-war or torpedo boat when at a considerable distance. This information is given by the hydrophone. The instrument is a modification of Professor Hughes' microphone, which doubtless has many practical applications before it, besides its accepted use as a telephone transmitter. The arrangement is exceedingly simple. In a heavy cast-iron case there is a flat spring, fixed at one end and free at the other. A short piece of roughened platinum wire, guided in an easy-fitting hole, rests upon the free end. The apparatus is submerged some miles from the shore, and is in electrical communication with an indicator on the home fleet, or, as it may happen, on land. Owing to the sensitiveness of the spring to vibrations, it responds to the minutest disturbances.

When an electric current is sent through the metals in loose contact—viz., the spring and the platinum wire—and a telephone is also included in the circuit, there is a constant succession of sounds in the telephone. When the instrument is submerged under the sea it can detect the passage of a steamship within a mile. The indicator which Captain McEvoy has invented to act in conjunction with the hydrophone is called a kinesiscope. By means of this instrument the varying currents produced in the hydrophone set in action a bell or flash a light signal. In the telephonic circuit there is a delicate apparatus in which a finger index is acted upon by the current so that it takes a certain position. By then arranging two magnets, one on each side of it, the index finger is attracted to one side or the other under variations of the current. This action is utilised to work a relay, so that a bell or lamp, worked by a local battery, is set in action, and thus the approach of the hostile vessel is indicated.

---

**The Recent Abnormal Dry Period.**—The phenomenal weather which has attended this spring and early summer in the British Isles is a striking example of the truism that every rule has its exceptions. For a while the climate of some parts of the British Isles was completely changed. The ravaging east winds which usually accompany the advent of March were either absent, or when present, bereft of their malignant properties; and instead of the leaden skies which generally prevail at that time was brilliant insolation—even in London, where fogs have been for a while almost entirely banished. Many invalids left England at the end of February for the Riviera and other sunny stations of the South to escape from the proverbial English spring, and no sooner had they reached their destination than their friends reported to them that they also were enjoying exceptional sunshine. Spring passed into summer under the abnormal conditions of weather, and day after day was dry, warm, and bright. Mr. Douglas Archibald was lately addressing the Royal Meteorological Society on his impressions of the climate of Australia, where he had been making a long sojourn, and he compares the weather in London in the early summer to that which so largely prevails in certain parts of Australia, which he describes as dry and invigorating. But when a limited amount of rain fell after the first beginnings of the “break up,” the atmosphere in London became unbearably oppressive, and unprecedented temperatures were registered, so that even those who had most rejoiced in the exceptional season hailed the advent of the complete

termination of the drought. Some persons have only regarded the drought as a national disaster, on account of the undoubted mischief it has caused to the agricultural prospects. But periodic droughts no doubt play their part in the great economy of Nature. One benefit which may result from the drought may be the extermination of the influenza germ, though this is a matter of speculation. The epidemic has appeared over and over again in the British Isles, and the usual dampness of the climate seems favourable to its development and retention in the system; therefore an unusual period of dryness would seem to be an antidote against its influence, and if the drought has lessened the chances of a recurrence of the disease next winter, its visitation for a certain period should be a matter for thankfulness. But, whether this may be the case or not, there is no doubt that if the drought had been protracted much longer, the health of large towns would have suffered much in other ways, in being deprived of the natural cleansing by heavy summer rainfalls.

The principal features of the great drought have been very clearly set forth in a concise article in *Nature*. It points out that the drought has been one of wide extent, having affected nearly the whole of Europe, large portions of Canada, the United States, and other parts of the globe. Those parts that have not been visited by the drought have experienced exceptionally heavy rainfall. As regards the British Isles, as a whole, the drought may be said to have lasted fifteen weeks; was most severe in the south of England and felt least in the north of Scotland. "Over Scotland, England, and Ireland it increased in intensity, with pretty uniform regularity, from north to south. Thus the deficiency in percentages from the average rainfall of that portion of the year was 30 at Lairg, and 59 in Berwickshire; 59 at Penrith, and 70 at Dungeness and Falmouth; and 38 at Londonderry and 67 at Waterford." It seems that the least deficiency that was registered at any of the stations of the weekly weather report was 1 at Glencarron, in Ross-shire, where the amount of rainfall was 16.91 inches. The greatest was at Dungeness and Falmouth, being 0.60 at the former, and 0.94 at the latter. The deficiency in London was 0.77 inch. The type of weather which prevailed during the period was anti-cyclonic, attended by small satellite cyclones, with their consequent thunderstorms. A remarkable feature of some of the thunderstorms was that they were unaccompanied by rain. Some phenomenally high temperatures were registered during the period; as an example, there is quoted in the article referred to, the mean for London during March, April, and May. That was  $40.3^{\circ}$  above

the mean of the previous 130 years. Considering that during the present century there have only been about eight droughts that can be compared with that which has lately been experienced, and considering that the drought of the present year excels them all in length, being the longest on meteorological record, we need hardly fear its repetition at an early date.

---

## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

---

**Land System of Kashmir.**—Mr. Knight's valuable book, "Where Three Empires Meet,"\* is a reportory of information concerning the various countries he passed through. The first of these was Kashmir, and he places before us, perhaps more vividly than any previous traveller has done, not only the oft-described scenery of that country, but also the character and way of life of its inhabitants. As part of his tour was made in the company of Mr. Lawrence, the settlement officer, he saw much of the peasant class, who are all Mohammedans, while the royal family and ruling caste are Hindus, here called pundits, without necessarily possessing the attainments which the name implies elsewhere. The cultivators, being ground down to the uttermost by the rapacity and oppression of the officials, welcome with joy the British officers, civil and military, lent by the Government of India to the Durbar in order to carry out the reforms absolutely needed to save the country from bankruptcy. The abuses connected with the collection of the revenue resulted in the robbery of the State on the one hand, and in the oppression of the cultivators on the other, while some villages, favoured by the collusion of their head-men with the Government officials, escaped the payment of taxes almost altogether, as the assessment of the several districts was at the discretion of these authorities. A complicated system of embezzlement and falsification of accounts permits vast arrears of unpaid revenue to accumulate against these favoured districts, as to the existence of which the cultivator is reckless, since the State has practically no means of recovering them. Ejectment has no terrors for him, and is profitless to his creditor, while all his movable property, cattle, implements,

---

\* London : Longmans. 1893.

and even crops are carried off to the mountains on the approach of the revenue collector. To extract a bare subsistence from his fields is the utmost goal of his ambition, since to accumulate property would be but to invite plunder. The reform of this system was no light task, and seems to have been performed by Mr. Lawrence with the even-handed justice which characterises British administration in India. As the fresh assessment carried out by him lasts for ten years, every device of Oriental cunning was resorted to in order to cut it down as low as possible. In one case, where the village in point of fact was assessed considerably below its value, the spokesman arrived carrying in one hand a lump of stone and some sand, and in the other a few mouldy straws, a handful of diseased rice, and some decayed walnuts as specimens of the soil and its products. The people assumed a correspondingly woebegone appearance, but as soon as they found that Mr. Lawrence was not to be imposed upon by their drama, their spirits returned, and they laughed and chatted merrily over the defeat of their champion. The result was that while arrears of revenue were blotted out, being in point of fact irrecoverable, an increased figure was fixed for the future, of which the regular payment would be insisted on. Over-leniency in this respect is found to be a mistake, as the cultivators require a stimulus to labour to prevent them from letting the land deteriorate. The artificial irrigation of Kashmir, which renders it almost independent of rainfall, makes the question of water one no less fertile in causes of quarrel than that of land, and the farmers on the hills were accused of stealing the precious liquid from those on the plains.

The worst class of abuses were those connected with the *corrée* or *begar*, made a source of additional hardship by being used as an engine for levying blackmail on the entire population. Thus, when a dozen carpenters were required for Government work, every member of the trade in Srinagar was impressed, in order to extort ransom for their exemption. It is calculated that for every man actually taken for the State requirements, ten have to purchase immunity by bribes to the officials, sometimes to the amount of a hundred rupees. Yet the system cannot be abolished, as it is the only machinery available for necessary public works, such as roads and bridges. The needed reform consists in the equalization of its incidence, and the abrogation of its abuse for purposes of extortion. It is satisfactory to read of the confidence felt in Mr. Lawrence's settlement, and the increasing prosperity of the Sind Valley throughout which it has been effected. In many districts the farmers who had fled into India are flocking back to their original

homes, as many as twenty-three families having returned to one village within a twelvemonth.

No European is allowed to possess land in Kashmir, and as the number of Anglo-Indians who make it their summer resort, now about 300, has far outgrown the accommodation provided for them by the Maharaja, the visitors to Srinagar live either in boats on the river or in tents on its banks.

---

**Scenery of the Happy Valley.**—Mr. Knight seems to have found the Kashmirian landscape to justify even the Oriental hyperbole with which it is spoken of, and he describes one of its peculiar effects as follows :

Shortly after dawn, when the dew was still on the pastures, and a thin haze was in the air, a very curious and fairy-like scene lay before us. The whole plain was here overgrown with the small blue iris in full flower, presenting the appearance in the distance of a great still blue sea. Of exactly the same tint was the sky above us, and the lower portion of the mountain range on the far horizon where the snow was not lying. Thus plain and sky and hills were not distinguishable one from another. One seemed to be looking into an infinite pale blue space, cloven in the centre by a jagged band of pearly-white—the distant snowy uplands trembling in mirage. But one must have seen it to realise the unreal beauty of the picture.

---

**Kashmirian Tibet.**—The Western Himalayas, with an average height of over 17,000 feet, and rising in the peak of Nanga Parbat to 26,670 feet, divide the Kashmirian dominions into two portions, differing no less in climate and natural features than in the character of the races inhabiting them. This stupendous barrier, crossed most easily at its lowest depression, the Zoji La, or pass, 11,500 feet high, parts the Aryan from the Mongol, and the Buddhist from the Hindu. Ladak, conquered by its present rulers between 1834 and 1842, was previously ruled by a native raja recognising China as his paramount Power, and the Grand Lama at Lassa as his spiritual chief. The latter is still regarded by the inhabitants as their real sovereign. The Zoji Pass is rather the great step to the higher level of the Tibetan plateau, than a saddle between two ranges of mountains, the descent on the northern side being comparatively small. Hence it marks the transition from the green and wooded countries reached by the southern rains to the bleak Central Asian waste without dew or cloud, forest or pasture—"where one may march through a long summer's day and never see so much as a blade of grass"—a region always freezing or burning under the clear blue sky, where rocks exposed to the sun may be too hot to touch, while it is

freezing in the shade. Cultivation is carried on only by means of artificial canals bringing down the water from the upper snows to form tiny green oases, as sharply defined as though cut out of some other country and dropped into the midst of the surrounding desolation.

---

**Tibetan Piety.**—Among the mechanical forms of piety in use in Tibet is the *mani* or praying wall. Each of its stones being carved with a prayer or pious image is supposed to pray for the passers-by, lessening their term of probation and bringing them nearer to nirvana, provided they keep the wall on their right hand. A road consequently always divides in passing a *mani*, in order to let travellers in both directions profit by its powers. The carving is executed by monks who roam through the country to perform this pious office, and so diminish the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. A *mani* frequently terminates in a *chorten*, a species of large sarcophagus raised on a pedestal, containing the ashes of the dead kneaded up with clay, and made into idols, either several in the case of the poor, or a solitary one if the monument of a rich man. Sacred writings are inscribed on the face of the cliffs in the defiles passed by the road, in order to frighten away the evil spirits; and colossal idols are carved in relief on the rocks in other places. Praying flags, with pious legends, flutter in the breeze, and are no less efficacious than the praying wheels turned by the current of the streams, or held in the hands and incessantly kept in revolution. The approach to a Ladaki town or village is generally through an avenue some two or three miles long, lined with Buddhist monuments, thousands of *chortis*, groups of cairns, and long walls of carved prayers covering the otherwise desert ground.

Mr. Knight attended a very singular Buddhist celebration at the monastery of Himis, some twenty miles from Leh, the most important of these establishments in Ladak, with accommodation for about 800 monks and nuns. Here is held an annual mystery play, known as the Devil Dance, which lasts for two days, and to which pilgrims flock in numbers from Chinese as well as Kashmirian Tibet. The ceremonial, performed in the court of the monastery, consists of processions and dances of lamas, gorgeously attired, and wearing hideous masks; the religious object being to familiarize men with the demon shapes who will seek to terrify and lead them astray after death, in their search through space for their true sphere.

---

**The Gilgit Road.**—The strategic importance of the Kashmirian border is emphasised by the encroachments of Russia on the frozen steppes of the Pamirs, which have no value save as a stage on the road to India. Gilgit, the northernmost outpost of the British Empire in this direction, is consequently a point of supreme importance, from its command over the passes of the Hindu Khush, the roads from which all descend to the Gilgit river or its tributaries, as well as from its affording communication through Kashmirian territory with the outlying protected State of Chitral. Mr. Knight's pages give a vivid impression of the difficulty of reaching this watch-tower of India by the old road, liable in some places to be swept by land slides into the terrific gorges it traverses, and rendered impassable during the winter by snow blizzards on the two high mountain passes which divide it from the Valley of Kashmir, in attempting to force which hundreds of mules and their drivers are sometimes overwhelmed. The new road, 240 miles in length, constructed by Messrs. Spedding & Co., from the valley of the Jhelum to Gilgit, is therefore of inestimable military value in facilitating communication between the fort and its base. As the country through which it passes is practically a desert, all supplies and provisions for the 5000 navvies employed in its construction had to be brought up from the valley, rendering transport a very difficult and anxious question for the firm engaged in the enterprise. A strong hand, too, was needed to keep order in the camp, where men of the wild frontier tribes—Afridis, Khybaris, Peshawaris, Kabulis, Kashmiris, Swats, and Punjabis—were gathered together, in many cases outlaws and fugitives from justice in their own countries. A much easier route through the Indus Valley to Abotabad will eventually be opened up, as soon as the savage tribes—Chilas, Shinakas, and others—occupying a territory hitherto marked as unexplored on the map have been sufficiently subdued. The dangerous Kashmir passes will then be avoided, and Gilgit brought ten days nearer to the Punjab railway system. The extension of the Gilgit road through Yasin to Chitral is now advocated, so as to bring that State, into which a Russian force recently penetrated, more directly under British control. The key of the western Hindu Khush would then be in British keeping, and an army advancing from Herat would be outflanked by a force in the lower Chitral Valley.

---

**The Hunza-Nagar Confederacy.**—A very singular state of society is that described by Mr. Knight as existing among the two

little robber clans' occupying the almost impregnable defile of the Kanjut Valley, and defeated by the British expedition under Colonel Durand in November and December 1891. The author was not only present during the operations, but took an active part in them, all civilians on the spot being invited to volunteer as officers, while the Pathan navvies were armed and embodied as an auxiliary corps. The two miniature States, which, though nominally tributary to Kashmir, had successfully defied its authority, occupy respectively the opposite sides of a ravine, with a torrent, whose precipitous banks can only be scaled at certain points, forming the frontier between them. Hunza and Nagar, their rival capitals, frown at each other across the gorge in a perennial state of mutual hostility, while leagued together against the outer world. Though unable to put more than 5000 fighting men in the field, these freebooters of the mountains were the terror of their neighbours from Afghanistan to Yarkand, living by organised brigandage on the plunder of the caravans between India and Central Asia, especially those from Leh to Yarkand over the Karakoram Pass. The inaccessibility of their valley secured them impunity, wedged in as it is between some of the highest mountains in the world: Mount Rakapshi, towering to a height of 25,560 feet, above neighbouring peaks over 24,000 feet high, while the Naga River rises in the most gigantic of known glaciers, covering hundreds of square miles. Each little community was ruled by an absolute despot, who sold or slew his subjects as his fancy dictated. The Thum, or King, of Hunza, who succeeded in 1886 by the murder of his father and two of his brothers, boasts descent from Alexander the Great, and was generally credited with the possession of magical powers, such as that of summoning hurricane, snow, and frost to do his bidding by flinging a piece of ox-hide into a certain stream. A magic drum, too, suspended on the topmost tower of Hunza Castle, was beaten by fairy hands when he was about to engage in a successful war. The defences of the Kanjut Valley consisted of a formidable series of forts and breastworks, occupying the precipitous sides of the gullies intersecting it, so placed as to command the approach, not only by musketry fire, but also by couloirs, down which rocks could be hurled on the assailants.

The admirable skill and daring with which these obstacles were surmounted by the little British force, some 1200 strong, forms a fascinating chapter in Mr. Knight's volume, nor does he omit to do justice to the military instinct of the Kashmiri Sepoy, Nagdu, to whose scouting the success of the expedition at its most critical point was due. One of the strangest features of the campaign was the heartiness with which the population, after its stubborn defence,

accepted British rule once it was found to be inevitable, overjoyed apparently at being delivered from the tyranny of their native sovereign. They made bridges for the invaders, and pulled down their forts to use the rafters as firewood for them, declaring that they were no longer wanted, as the English would protect them. The advanced party were presented with offerings indicative of submission by deputations from the various villages, one of which derived a fantastic aspect from the scarlet dye with which the beards of the old men composing it were stained. The inhabitants live in villages enclosed by strong towered walls, within which they retire at night from their fields and gardens. Every terrace and step of soil is cultivated, and each thread of glacier stream utilised for irrigation, so that orchards of peaches, apricots, apples, and mulberries, alternating with other trees festooned with vines, are wedged in among the cliffs.

---

**Result of the Campaign.**—The native dynasties of Hunza and Nagar have been re-instated in the persons of their least objectionable representatives, owing allegiance to the Empress-Queen, whose flag has thus been carried right up to the glaciers of the Hindu Khush. Caravan raiding and slave stealing have been prohibited, and one of the principal trade routes to Central Asia is thus rendered secure. The consolidation of frontier defensive communication is still progressing, and the Chilas country being now held, the direct road through it to Gilgit has been surveyed and improved, avoiding the dangerous eastern passes. Three regiments, each 600 strong, remain on the frontier, with the headquarters at Gilgit, and detachments in Hunza and Nagar. Another regiment will hold the passage of the Indus at Boonji, the most important point on the road in the rear of Gilgit; while a political officer, responsible for the entire district, will probably have his personal guard of fifty men raised to double that strength.

---

**The Great Lake of Siam.**—French demands on Siam have called attention to the geography of one of the districts in dispute, that of the Great Lake of Foule Sape, half of which is in Cambodian territory, and half bordered by the Siamese provinces of Ang-Kor and Battambang: a tall mast projecting from the water marking the boundary between the Siamese and Cambodian dominions. This fine sheet of water, about sixty miles in length, with an area of a thousand square miles, is enclosed by shores covered with luxuriant

vegetation, beyond which mountain peaks rise to a great height. The fish with which it swarms are a cause of prosperity to the adjacent population, and a source of considerable revenue to the State. Nor is man alone in his depredations on them, for myriads of waterfowl wheel above the lake or float on it, while flocks of pelicans wade from the banks, and aigrettes with snow-white plumage crowd the branches of the trees near its edge. Native legend affirms that here, as in the case of many great lakes, the waters roll over what was once a fertile plain with a thriving city in its midst. The lake is fed in the rainy season by one of the branches of the Mekong, and is then navigable by large steamers, which go to Siemreap at its northern extremity. The city of Battambang lies about three days' march thence, on a small river navigable for small boats, though so narrow that they are almost touched by the branches of the trees on either hand. The houses on the shores are surrounded by luxuriant plantations of bananas and mangroves, with wide rice-fields in their rear. Pony races and cock and tortoise fighting are the prevailing sport in Battambang, whose inhabitants share the gambling spirit common to all Siamese. The town, although nominally protected by a fortified earthwork on the high ground above the river, would be incapable of offering any resistance to a French force.

---

**Ancient Remains in Ang-Kor.**—The province of Ang-Kor takes its name from the ancient capital of Cambodia, situated to the north-east of the lake in the midst of a rich plain surrounded by mountains. The gigantic ruins which mark its site are all that is left of one of the most famous dynasties of the East, that of Khmer, which ruled for centuries over the empire of Cambodia, with a hundred and twenty kings as vassals, an army of five million men, and a treasury of fabulous riches. The ruins discovered by the Portuguese and Spaniards in 1564 had been known to the Chinese some centuries earlier, and their accounts of them had been transmitted to Europe in the thirteenth century. The investigations of modern French *savants* have fully confirmed these older descriptions, and a valuable work on the subject has been published by M. Fournereau. Ang-Kor Wat, the royal pagoda, is said by M. Moudot, who visited it in 1862, to be more majestic than any monument of antiquity still preserved to us. The park in which it stood was 1087 miles long and 827 broad, while over this area were strewn buildings of the most fantastic design and colossal size, towers, temples, terraces, colonnades and galleries, avenues and bridges, decorated with vast figures of monstrous and grotesque animals, and with carvings and pictures on the

great blocks of which the structures are composed. The great height to which some of these blocks have been carried would be a difficulty to modern engineering, believed to have been surmounted here by means of inclined planes. Ang-Kor Thom, at a few miles distance, is still more ancient, and a vast mass of ruins overgrown by giant banian trees, rooted among their foundations, here marks the site of Preathong, the former Khmer capital. The bas-reliefs preserved among the underground galleries of these ruins are especially interesting, as they commemorate the pastimes, ceremonies, and history of a lost civilisation. Hundreds of minor groups of monumental remains are scattered over a large area, where they are barely traceable beneath the vegetation that has entombed them; and the ruins of Bassette, among others, are supposed to be those of the ancient Summer Palace of these once mighty sovereigns. New Ang-Kor, an insignificant town, is situated about fifteen miles north-east of the lake, and represents in its inferiority the gulf between the ancient and the modern importance of this region. The province of Battambang has been incorporated in the kingdom of Siam only about one hundred years, from which time the present town dates. The inhabitants are mostly Cambodians, and have several times attempted to rebel. They still preserve the usages and manners of their own country, and are leniently dealt with by Siam in the way of taxation.

---

**The Mekong.**—The great river of Indo-China, now created the frontier between Siam and the French possessions in the East, was first systematically explored in 1866 by the expedition of Garnier and Lagree. From its source in Tibet, 1500 miles from its delta, it traverses Yunnan and the Siamese Shan States by a course so rocky as to be impracticable for navigation until it reaches Luang Prabang, the straggling capital of the State of the same name. In this village of bamboo huts, with a few brick temples interspersed, is held a daily market described as the most important of that region with the exception of that of Zimmé. The unhealthiness of the spot, where fever attacks natives and Europeans indiscriminately, does not interfere with the mirth and gaiety of its inhabitants. Music is universally heard, and the streets are promenaded in the evening by the women singing in chorus. A small quantity of gold is obtained by washing the sands of the river, and an image of Buddha, three feet high, has been made from it. The women wear a profusion of gold ornaments, which are dyed red, on the annual recurrence of their principal festivals, by boiling them in various

solutions, of which the last is a mixture of salt, sulphur, and tamarind. The journey from Luang Prabang to Bangkok is usually reckoned at twenty-six days; elephants and carriers being the means of transport employed. The river below the town winds between black vertical walls of rock, and but few villages are seen on its banks, until the Laos towns are reached with their comparative commercial activity. It is here navigable for boats as far as Kemmerat, where it ceases to be so for 160 kilomètres, until it reaches Pakmun, and receives its principal tributary the Simun, which flows through populous districts, but by a course broken by rapids like the steps of a flight of stairs. The main river is navigable below the junction for a stretch of 150 kilomètres, when it is interrupted by the rapids of Khong for a distance of some ten miles. There are altogether six of these stretches of broken water, cutting off the different reaches of the river from intercommunication, and rendering it impracticable as a trade route. The population along its banks is scanty throughout the greater part of its course, and the French dream of making it the outlet for the land-locked provinces of southern China seems impossible of realisation. In its lower course through Cambodia, its banks are strewn with the ruins of the ancient Khmer kingdom, so full of interest to the historian and archæologist.

---

**Siamese Temples.**—An interesting account of the temples of Bangkok is given in *The Globe* of August 8th, by a naval officer who contributes his recollections of that city. The Wat Chang, or Great Temple, is reached by a flight of steps leading from the river, from which a large inner court is entered. Along its sides are ranged 250 large gilt images of Buddha, identical in size and expression, with numerous grotesque figures in front of them, while the gate is guarded by a pair of giants 30 feet high, with hideous faces and boar's tusks. Within the temple the principal object is a gigantic Buddha, 40 feet in height, amid a number of other stone images, the mural decorations consisting of scenes painted in curious perspective. Behind the figure of Buddha is the sacred fire, supposed to have been originally sent down from heaven, which has been kept alight for centuries, and is used for setting fire to funeral pyres; a more especially sacred flame being reserved for royal use. In front of the image promiscuous gifts, such as clocks and alabaster vases, are piled up, together with bundles of fragrant sticks used for burning in funeral ceremonies. The principal tower is a huge structure about 200 feet high, with a base 100 feet square, covered externally with

ornamentation formed of pieces of glazed pottery stuck on with mortar in fanciful patterns and devices. A platform half-way up affords a fine view of the city, the greater part of whose population of some 400,000 live in boats or floating houses on rafts.

The King's Temple, where the court annually meets to renew the oath of allegiance to the monarch, who reclines on a couch in front of an image of Buddha, is near the Palace, and close to the stables of the sacred, though mangey-looking, white elephants. The principal Buddha has an immense emerald in his chin, and a great diamond in his forehead, and is surrounded by lesser Buddhas in solid gold. The altar is flanked by trees, those on the right with golden, and on the left with silver, leaves. The building is a parallelogram, 200 feet in length by 100 feet in breadth, with a roof resting on a row of pillars. The walls are richly decorated with carving and gilding, and the doors handsomely inlaid with black and yellow woods and mother-of-pearl. The principal religious ceremonies next to funerals are those which take place on the cutting off of the hair of the children, which is worn in a top-knot until they reach the age of eleven or twelve, and then shaved.

---

## Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

---

### GERMANY.

BY CANON BELLESHEIM, OF AACHEN.

**Katholik.**—Professor Gutberlet, the editor of the *Philosophische Jahrbuch*, contributes two excellent articles on St. Thomas Aquinas and Kant. Not a few philosophers of our age are raising the war-cry, "Return to Kant," totally regardless of the fact that the poverty which has befallen modern speculative thought has its very source in the system of Kant. On the other hand, Leo XIII. and all Catholic philosophers have combined to bring into prominence the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. Professor Gutberlet directs his inquiry into the several departments of philosophy, contrasting the two systems of St. Thomas and Kant. He evidently shows that, apart from some minor shortcomings, the former has brought out a philosophical system fully in harmony with the nature and faculties of the human mind, and in addition to this one which is borne out by daily experience and the facts of history.

[No. 8 of Fourth Series.]

3 P

What Professor Gutberlet mainly insists upon are the ideas of Kant on God, morality, and religion. He unanswerably proves that whilst they aim at upsetting every religion whatever, St. Thomas's philosophy works towards the highest development of the human mind. Canon Stöchl Eichstätt deals with the practical topic, "Modern Liberalism and its Atheistical Character." As applied to religion, liberalism becomes the source of indifferentism; bearing on morals, it is productive of independent morality; influencing science, it generates that so-called free research which generally, in course of time, opposes itself to supernatural revelation, and thereby to Christianity. On the other hand, he maintains that liberalism in religion does not less banefully affect the family, the school, and the spirit of benevolence, and thus deprive them of their Christian character, while it evokes the system of civil marriage, school boards, and State rates for the poor.

Fr. Gurber has a series of useful articles on Comte's religion of humanity. These contributions of the learned Jesuit remind us of his larger treatises on Comte's system which were noticed in this REVIEW, July 1893, p. 721. F. Eubel, of the Friar Minors Penitentiary at St. Peter's, Rome, gives a sketch of the Life of Matthew Döring, a member of his order in the fifteenth century, distinguished for literary pursuits, but unfortunately impressed by the false theory of the superiority of General Councils over the Pope, sentiments to which he gave acrimonious expression in the Council of Basle. Abbé Paulus, residing in Munich, has set before himself the task of recording those leaders of Catholic literature in the period of the Reformation, who nowadays are all but forgotten. The present article is devoted to the labours of John Mensing, of the Dominican Order. A very high recommendation is accorded to the "Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles," recently published by Dr. Felten, formerly professor of theology in the Episcopal Seminary of Leeds, now at the University of Bonn. The bulky volume of 486 pages treats thoroughly all questions which arise from the text, and favourably impresses the reader by the author's evident familiarity with English exegetical literature.

---

**Historisch-politische Blätter.**—For the July issue the writer contributed an article on the sixth volume of Professor Lehmann's work, "Preussen und die Katholische Kirche seit 1640" (Leipzig, 1893). The present number claims our peculiar attention from the hitherto unpublished documents referring to disputes of the Rhenish Electors and Archbishops with Pius VI., concerning the admission

of Papal Nuncios in the German Empire. In addition to them we learn that Pius VI. more than once asked two Prussian Kings to help him in checking the efforts of the three Archbishops manifestly tending to undermine the unity of the Church.

Another contribution deals with Fr. Rösler's biography of Cardinal Dominici, of the Dominican Order (Herder, Freiburg). Originally the author's intention was to write the life of St. Antoninus of Florence. Whilst ransacking for this purpose the archives of Florence, Fr. Rösler soon became conscious that he never could duly attain his object without previously studying the life of Dominici, the spiritual father of Antoninus. The accurate researches of Fr. Rösler in Italian libraries go to reflect the highest credit on Cardinal Dominici as a member of his order, a powerful preacher, a successful reformer, and indefatigable supporter of Gregory XII. In addition, we become acquainted with his opinion on the Renaissance movement, the more dangerous tendencies of which he soon detected and sought to oppose. A very commendatory notice is given of Professor Gutberlet's recent valuable works, "Ethick und Religion," and "Die Willensfreiheit und ihre Gegner."

To Fr. Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, we are indebted for his able articles on Dr. Brosch's "History of England, 1603-1688," and Bishop Wordsworth's "Annals of my Life, 1847-1856." Other notices refer to Orby Shipley's "Carmina Mariana" and the "*Paléographie Musicale* of the Benedictine Fathers of Solesmes."

---

"**Stimmen aus Maria Laach.**"—Fr. Granderath writes two able articles on the idea of Christ's reign as developed in the writings of the late Professor Albrecht Ritschl of Göttingen. The learned professor, who is held to be one of the most prominent supporters of that peculiar theology commonly called "Vermittelungs Theologie," denies the institution of a hierarchy by Christ, and lastly dissolves the church in a union of individuals equally possessed of the same rights. Fr. Kreiten describes Pascal's closing years. Fr. Arndt treats the relations between Russia and Constantinople in the fifteenth century. Fr. Zimmerman adds an interesting notice on Wilfred Ward's recent work on the life of his father, Dr. Ward, after his reception into the Catholic Church.

Lastly, we may solicit the attention of English scholars for the article contributed to the "Historisches Jahrbuch" (München, Herder), 1893, p. 582-603, by Professor Kirsch on Andreas Sapiti, who acted in Avignon under John XXII. and Benedict XII., as proctor for Edward II., and the English and Irish bishops. From

the documents printed for the first time we learn the complaints made against the Irish laid before the Pope, A.D. 1325, their causes, and the means by which they might be remedied. Next come the taxes which some Irish bishops, through Sapiti, in 1325 and 1332, paid to the Camera Apostolica.

---

## FRANCE.

**Revue des Questions Historiques.** Juillet, 1893. Paris.

**The Chronology of the Books of Esdras and Nehemias.**—Under this heading, Father C. Huyghe, S.J., opens the July number of the *Revue*. The traditional chronology of these two books has been warmly discussed of late; Father Huyghe cites the novel opinions of three or four French critics. A learned professor of Louvain, M. Van Hoonacker, has written (in articles in the *Muséon* of 1890 and 1892, of which *tirés à part* have been published) a powerful defence of the traditional chronology so far as regards the arrival of Nehemias at Jerusalem, which he shows must have been in 445 B.C., under Artaxerxes I. Even M. Kuenen has acknowledged the talent of this defence, though he refuses to admit M. Hoonacker's conclusion. The Louvain professor, however, in the course of his defence has admitted one novel contention of certain innovating critics—Messieurs Havet and Imbert—namely, that Esdras came to Jerusalem in 398 B.C., the seventh year of Artaxerxes II., and *not* in 458 B.C., the seventh of Artaxerxes I. as the common and accepted chronology had previously been. The present writer, Father Huyghe, comes forward in defence of the older and recognised system, and in particular of the traditional date of the arrival of Esdras against the above concession by M. Van Hoonacker. The long article is too technical and minute in the accumulated details to admit of brief analysis. Students interested in the subject will scarcely be content with anything less than a study of the article, and probably of the literature there referred to.

---

**The Life of St. Paul the Hermit and the Chronology of Metaphrastes.**—This second article is also from the pen of a learned Jesuit, Father Hippolyte Delahaye, one of the Bollandist editors, if we mistake not. A comparison of the very brief account of Saint Paul, in Butler (December 20), and the highly interesting matter occupying the thirty-five pages of this article will give an idea of how much, in many cases, has been gained to hagiography by modern

literary research. The abundant references will enable a student to follow up still further the path of progress. Father Delahaye has some interesting remarks on the literary style and the ability with which the original Greek (of the tenth century) life of St. Paul is written, contrasting favourably with the "compilations *maladroites et sans style*" of so many of similar productions of Latin writers of the Middle Ages. The Byzantine writer, he remarks, not only uses a rich and harmonious language with ability, but he has a mastery over his subject, arranges its parts, and devotes his attention to them according to their value for his purpose; there is sequence and variety of matter and manner; facts are distinguished from reflections and are naturally associated.

Probably this was what Butler meant in his pithy way when he concludes his brief account of this Saint with: "See his life, which he well wrote." This edifying and graceful biography is the work of a contemporary, but the author of it is really unknown. Some valuable MSS. discovered, apparently by chance, early in this century, at Mount Latros itself, dating from the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, help to throw light on the value and authorship of this contemporary Life of S. Paul; and a Russian *savant*, M. Vasilievsky, who among others has published more fragments of them,\* and indulges in the speculation that the anonymous Biography of S. Paul is the work of Simeon Metaphrastes. Father Delahaye devotes a portion of his article to a discussion of this suggestion: and concludes that though the biography may be, no serious argument yet justifies in concluding that it is, the work of Metaphrastes; numerous internal indications show that the Biography was written by an inhabitant of the monastery of Mount Latros.

---

**Monastic and Hermitical Life in the East.**—The article contains some very interesting details on the subject of the Cenobites and Hermits of the East about the tenth century, and their manner of life, which show some striking differences from the monastic manners of the West. The alternations of solitude (often at great distances) with returns for longer or shorter periods to community life and common routine, are noteworthy. S. Paul himself, as a young man with a strong attraction for solitude, obeys one superior who checks his desires and keeps him at home, and after that superior's death gets the consent of another to depart. With a companion he exiles himself, by a journey of many days, and for some eight months apparently

---

\* In the *Russian Journal of Public Instruction*, 1880, pp. 379-437, Father Martinov, S.J., has made a French translation.

the two live from all other human association apart. Then a letter from their superior brought to them promptly brings them home again: and so on. The article also has some interesting suggestions as to the life of the "Stylites"—of whom there were so many. There was often more room on the "pillar" than one might think. S. Paul himself took to this form of life: and his "pillar" was the table-like top of a rock which stood sheer up like a pilaster from the hillside, but whose top was flanked by a cave or grotto in the hill. The narrow top was not easily climbed up to. This narrow home, perched on the high rock—the eagle's rest, rather than man's—was already sanctified by a residence of twenty years on it of one Athanasius, before it was pointed out to our Saint.

---

**The Eastern Solitaries and Holy Communion.**—This interesting question, on which Father Dalgairns once wrote, has some little light thrown on it by our Saint's Biography.

One day he was seized with an ardent desire to assist at the holy sacrifice, in his (elevated and nearly inaccessible) grotto. How were others to reach him? His friend Athanasius, at his request, fastened a ladder to the rock, and by means of it a priest and a few monks ascended. Mass was said, and those present communicated, whilst a miraculous trembling shook the rock. Another time, Mass was said for our Saint, in a cave equally inaccessible on the isle of Samos and in circumstances still more extraordinary; which shows (says our author) that not even what we should regard as insurmountable obstacles could prevent those ancients from participating in the holy mysteries.

The next article in the *Revue* is from the pen of M. de Boislisle, and begins a narration, from new studies, of the story of Scarron and Françoise D'Aubigné, later on the famous Madame de Maintenon: then follows a long article, full enough of curious detail, on "Fabre d'Eglantine, Comedian, Dramatist, and Revolutionist," and one might add, worthless lover, unfaithful husband, and hard-hearted father. The article is by M. Victor Fournel.

Among the minor articles of this number one is worth mentioning, by Father Ch. de Smedt, S.J., headed, "L'Ordre Hospitalier du Saint Esprit." It gives a eulogistic account of a monograph on that order by the Abbé P. Brune (published at Lone-le-Saunier, 1832, 452 pages 8vo), which Father de Smedt calls "une véritable révélation historique." The history of this once wide-spread order is now, for the first time, clearly traced. What few extracts Father de Smedt gives us point to the Abbé Brune's work as one of the most interesting possible of its kind. He traces the methods of charity in the Church in the thirteenth century, and then sketches

the aims of this order, which contained both brethren and sisters. Gui de Montpellier must have had the heart of a S. Vincent de Paul. The new institute embraced every variety of charitable work: "the sick, orphans, abandoned children, the poor, old people, lying-in women, Magdalens, pilgrims, and travellers—every class of the necessitous found a welcome in their houses." The Grand Master of the Order, who was never a priest, resided in the chief house, which was the Hospital of S. Maria *in Saxia*, at Rome. By the sixteenth century the order, which was highly developed in France, had spread to Spain and Portugal, to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and England. The Abbé Brune has established the fact that the Order of the Holy Ghost had never a military character: it comprised brothers and sisters for works of charity, some priests and clerks for spiritual functions, and *oblates* of two kinds, children offered by their parents to be brought up in religion, and adults who joined in the work of the order either permanently or for a period. Two things have struck us in reading this attractive article: the Grand Master had to sleep and live with the others, and if he committed a fault he was put on fasting diet of bread and water, with a guard of three clerks to see he kept to it!—that promises well. Yet, alas, *prosperity*, material prosperity, destroyed in time all fair promises, and led to decay and extinction.

---

## Notices of Books.

---

### A CORRECTION.

**Apologetics, or Christianity Defensively Stated.** By Professor  
A. B. BRUCE. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

OUR attention has been called to the fact that the review of the above work, which appeared in our last number, has seriously misrepresented the doctrinal position and scope of the author. We regret that our reviewer has been led into the error of implying, upon the strength of two passages which he cited, that Professor Bruce doubted or denied the Virgin Birth of our Lord, and the Sinlessness which is the necessary sequel of belief in our Lord's Divinity. We are glad to find that the passages on which our reviewer has relied for such a judgment represent, not Professor Bruce's own views, but, on the contrary, the statement of opinions which he is engaged in refuting. It is, therefore, quite true to say that instead of calling in question either the Virgin Birth or Sinlessness of Christ, Professor Bruce's work is an earnest and sympathetic defence of both.

The whole line of argument adopted abundantly removes the imputation, and appears to us to establish beyond reasonable doubt the nature of the author's convictions. At the same time, we owe it to sincerity to say that we are unable at times to associate ourselves with what seems to us the halting phraseology which Professor Bruce has seen fit to employ *in facie inimici* when dealing with the question of the Divinity of Christ. To say that Christ has for the Christian consciousness "the religious value of God," or that St. Paul ascribed to Christ "a Divine Sonship involving, at least, ethical identity with God," are formulæ capable of a perfectly orthodox construction. But not the less, although it may be but a matter of taste or style, they have a decidedly unsatisfactory ring in the ears of those who are wont to affirm with St. Peter, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God"; and unhappily they leave room for plentiful evasion in the minds of those who are content to look upon Christ as a sort of mere religious or ethical counter-foil for the Divinity. When Professor Bruce further proceeds to consider the position of those who in the future may regard with dislike the definitions of the ancient Councils as to Christ's twofold nature and single Personality, and warns us that such an attitude

is not to be mistaken for a denial of Christ's Divinity, and tells us that it may be a mood of mind "compatible with an attitude of heart towards Jesus in full sympathy with the faith of the Catholic Church concerning Him, even in the most orthodox generations," we confess that such language seems to us a contradiction in terms. The orthodox, in the theological and historical sense of the term, are those who sincerely receive and believe the definitions of the Catholic Church in her General Councils, and not those who regard them with "coldness and aversion"—dispositions which in any honest and candid mind must be equivalent to doubt and denial. Professor Bruce can hardly believe that any mere attitude of heart, which sets at naught the decisions of the Church, can make Nestorianism or Eutychianism into Catholicity. The Divinity of Christ, which he is defending, distinctly involves the truth of the Incarnation. No one needs to prove the Divinity of *God*, and when we apply the word Divinity to Christ we obviously mean that God was made man. Now, it is precisely this truth that was voided by the heresies of Nestorius and of Eutyches. If, as the latter contended, there was *not* a twofold nature, there could be no real Incarnation, for Incarnation postulates two terms; and if Eutyches were right, either the Word or the Flesh was wanting. On the other hand, if Christ were, as the teaching of Nestorius maintained, a composite term, implying a merely moral union or partnership of *two* persons; one Divine and the other human, it would clearly follow that the Person who died on the cross was not the same Person as God the Son. As Christ is He who died for us, such a doctrine undermines the Atonement, and is certainly tantamount, in our belief, to a denial of Christ's Divinity. The very definitions of Nicæa, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which according to Professor Bruce may be regarded with coldness and aversion—viz., tacit denial—without incurring the charge of denying Christ's Divinity, are to us the absolutely necessary postulates and safeguards of the truth of that Divinity of Christ and of the fact of the Incarnation; and that so much so, that any unwillingness to accept them logically betrays the existence of a latent doubt or disbelief of both these doctrines in the mind which exhibits the symptoms of coldness and aversion." Such certainly is the diagnosis upon which is based the judgment and action of the Catholic Church in the past, the present, and the future. Having thus risked the ungraciousness of pointing out the many and important considerations upon which the author's standpoint differs very markedly from our own, we hasten to add that that is a reason not the less, but the more, why we profoundly regret that any misrepresentation of

the aim and spirit of his work should have found its way into our pages. While we do not believe in any practical prescinding of what are termed the fundamental truths of religion from the rest of integral and full-orbed Catholic Christianity—for God's word is to be taken for little things as well as for great—it must ever give us much more real pleasure to welcome and commend, than to disparage, even by a word, the excellent apologetic services which are rendered from time to time outside the pale of the Church to the defence of the primary Christian dogmas.

We trust that it may serve to emphasise the correction which we gladly make, and to remove the impression which our former notice may have left on the mind of some of our readers, if we cite the following passage, in which Professor Bruce lucidly deals with the test truth of our Lord's resurrection (p. 397):

The result of the foregoing inquiry is that all naturalistic attempts to explain away the resurrection up to this date have turned out to be failures. The physical resurrection remains. It remains, it need not be added, a great mystery. Much that relates to this august event is enveloped in mystery.

And:

In the resurrection of Jesus two processes seem to have been combined into one—the revivification of the crucified body, and its transformation into a spiritual body endowed with an eternal form of existence; the first process being merely a means to an end, the actual, if not indispensable, condition of the second.

Many such passages might be easily culled from its pages. The whole structure of the work is based upon a profound belief in the divine character of Christianity, and is animated throughout by a sincere zeal for its defence against the assaults of scepticism and infidelity.

THE EDITOR.

**The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries.**

By Rev. T. LIVIUS, M.A., C.S.S.R. With a Preface by H.E. the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. 8vo, pp. 481. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Bros.

THE issue of this valuable work happily synchronises with the year which has witnessed the solemn re-dedication of England to Our Lady. Fr. Livius could hardly have laid at the feet of Our Blessed Patroness a more fitting tribute than to have placed side by side with the work of his fellow-Redemptorist on the "Dowry of Mary" this volume, in which we hear the combined voices of the Fathers of the first six centuries united in speaking the praise of the Mother of God. In a coming number of this REVIEW we hope to deal with this

work more at length, and with the fulness which its importance deserves, but in the meantime we must be content to welcome it as a most useful addition to our Catholic literature, and to bespeak it a cordial reception from all who have the honour of Mary at heart, and love to learn how the children of the Church in their earliest not less than in their latest generations have "called her Blessed."

---

**The Century Dictionary.** An Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language. Prepared under the superintendence of WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit in Yale University. In six vols. Vol. VI., STRUB—ZYG. New York: The Century Co. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

WE have already expressed our very high opinion of the merits of the "Century" Dictionary when noticing former volumes. We have now received the sixth and completing volume, and congratulate the enterprising publishers on the uniform excellence of printing and engraving, and the wonderful celerity with which they have carried through a task of enormous magnitude. The six volumes of the "Century" form, indeed, a monumental work, marking in composition and editorship the latest results of philological science, and in its artistic features the most advanced results of typography and engraving. Indeed the illustrations, which are so often in works of this kind merely reprints of such blocks as could be easily procured, have been prepared for the "Century" with great care and artistic excellence—those on natural history subjects, especially profuse in quantity and of marvellous delicacy of line and finish in printing, would, if transferred to a well-written volume on that special subject, make a book to delight a student's heart. We have before adverted to the efforts made by the editors of this Dictionary to secure accuracy in technical definitions and explanations, and to the fact that they had submitted topics of Catholic interest to the revision of a well-known priest in New York. We have reason to be satisfied that this fair treatment has been continued to the end. Take for example the word *Vulgate*, where, within the space of some twenty lines, a great deal of valuable information is wonderfully condensed. Condensation, indeed, in the "Century" Dictionary has been carried to a degree of great ability. Another admirable instance of it is the article *Te Deum*; and others, those on *Telegraph*, *Telescope*, *Temple*, &c. When we say that the completed work extends to 7046 quarto pages, printed

in three columns, which gives a total of over 21,000 columns, the magnitude of the work will be understood. The sixth volume concludes with an appendix on the proposed reforms (!) in English spelling of the American Philological Association, which one might almost fancy to be a joke, but for the solemn assurance that our conservatism is only the result of "stubborn prejudice," which later on becomes "ignorance and prejudice." We are told (in the new phonetic way) that "an altered orthograpy wil be unavoidably offensiv to those who ar first calld upon to uze it." On which we only observe (adopting the same new mode) that "the meer site of it to our ey is as fysic to our stumac," and we rejoice that the general adoption of it is not likely to be in this century nor in our own day, and that the editors of the "Century" were not advanced enough to adopt it in their excellent Dictionary.

---

#### BIOGRAPHIES BY MRS. HOPE.

**Early Martyrs.** By Mrs. HOPE. Sixth edition.

**Life of St. Philip Neri.** By Mrs. HOPE. Fourth edition.

**Life of St. Thomas à Becket.** By Mrs. HOPE. Third edition.

Revised and corrected from the Author's notes, with Memoir of the Author.

**Franciscan Martyrs in England.** By Mrs. HOPE. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1891.

IT is many years now, somewhere between thirty and forty, since the first-named of these volumes was given to the public by Mrs. Hope. F. Faber styled it, on its first appearance, "a very fascinating book," a verdict fully borne out by the fact of its being now reprinted for the seventh time. The "Life of St. Philip Neri," though projected and commenced in the June of 1855, owing to delay caused by the ill-health of the authoress, was not actually published till 1859. It was undertaken at the request of Father Dalgairns to meet the needs of those who frequented the London and Birmingham Oratories. It was to be short and not very learned, yet, of all the four volumes here noticed, it probably cost the authoress most time and trouble. Writing in 1855, shortly after she had entered on her task, she says: "Several points in St. Philip's character and vocation have been puzzling me sadly. I cannot tell you how difficult it is to write his Life. My way of writing a biography is to put myself in imagination in the place of my hero. But how can I put myself into the place of a Saint whom a modern historian has called a 'Thaumaturgus?'" The reception, however,

which the work met with was exceedingly favourable, and it now reaches its fourth edition. Almost ten years elapsed before the "Life of St. Thomas à Becket" followed upon that of "St. Philip." It appeared in 1868, and a special feature and merit in it was, as the biographical sketch prefixed to this third and revised edition tells us, that "it placed popularly before the public the result of deep research as regards the causes of the martyrdom." The sketch here referred to, extending to some twenty-five pages, is mainly composed from materials furnished by Sir Theodore Hope, K.S.C.I., C.I.E., the latter part being from the pen of one of the most intimate friends of the authoress, Mgr. Brownlow, V.G. It forms an addition to the present series, which will be interesting to many who have long been acquainted with the works themselves.

After another decade the life of England's great Martyr-Bishop was followed by "Franciscan Martyrs in England," a work compiled from original sources, and perhaps in some respects the most attractive of the volumes under review. To compare or to contrast in detail the attractions and merits, whether historical or literary, of the respective volumes, would take us beyond the bounds allowed us here. We congratulate Messrs. Burns & Oates upon their republication of the series, and we trust that its "popular" character will insure it a continuance of the popularity it has so far enjoyed.

---

**Introduction à la vie Spirituelle par des Exercices disposés pour la Méditation et la Lecture, par le R. P. JACQUES MASENIUS, S.J. Par l'Abbé Z. C. JOURDAIN. Paris: H. Walzer, Libraire Editeur, 7 Rue de Mezières. 1892.**

THIS work, which has just appeared, is a series of meditations on the plan of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, the author being a member of that society. It was first written in Latin by Father Masenius in 1651, under the title, "*Dux viæ per exercitia spiritualia communia omnibus, et propria ecclesiasticis.*" After going through several editions the author again brought it out in an enlarged and revised form in 1666, varying the title into "*Dux viæ ad vitam puram piam perfectam, per exercitia spiritualia meditationi simul et lectioni accommodatus: juxta normam sacrorum exercitiorum D. Ignatii de Loyola formatus.*" It is a rather bulky volume of nine hundred pages, and has four divisions. The first gives the rules and methods of meditation as practised in the Jesuit order, and with considerable detail. The second develops the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius, and comprises thirty-three meditations, each affording abundant matter for one hour's reflection.

The third deals with the choice of a state of life, and contains six chapters, while the fourth has eight meditations, suitable for ecclesiastics solely. As to its relative value with the many developments of the spiritual exercises that have appeared from time to time, it would be difficult to speak with certainty, and that must be left to the advanced and disinterested ascetic. The type and paper are excellent, and, taking everything into account, the work bids fair to advance souls in the spiritual life, and to remunerate in point of demand the laborious undertaking of the translator. We sincerely wish it success.

---

**Méditations a l'usage des élèves des grands Séminaires et des prêtres.** Par L. BRANCHEREAU, Supérieur du Grand Séminaire d'Orleans. Deuxième Edition, revue et augmentée. Paris : Vic et Amat, Editeurs, 11 Rue Cassette. 1891.

WE welcome this new course of meditations from the pen of the distinguished and saintly Superior of the Seminary of Orleans. It consists of four volumes, upwards of 500 pages each, embracing every subject connected with the ecclesiastical life, and is written for students and priests, principally for the latter. The subject-matter comes to us in the following order:—The Attributes of God, Sin, the Four Last Things, Grace, the Virtues, the Exercises (Meditation, Mass, Retreat, &c.), the Sundays, Principal Feasts, the Passion of our Lord, the Feasts of our Blessed Lady, of the Saints, and, lastly, the Ecclesiastical State. Each meditation has three divisions, headed respectively Adoration, Consideration, and Resolutions. The first contemplates what our Lord did or taught touching the subject in hand, and examines it in Him as in a divine mirror. The second treats of it theologically and scripturally, and is subdivided into three parts, corresponding with which, in the third division, are three resolutions, with a spiritual bouquet from the Scriptures, or from some of the masters of the spiritual life. The meditations are suited in point of length for three-quarters of an hour, or for the entire hour, and are preceded by a *sommaire* or synopsis intended for the preceding night. The style is simple, clear, and elegant, and presents no difficulty to those possessed of an ordinary knowledge of French, whilst the paper and type are everything that could be desired.

In these meditations the pious ecclesiastic will find his conceptions of the Divine Attributes undergo a wonderful expansion, and in what follows he will have abundant solid matter for mental and practical instruction. The object of meditation being to complete

in union with Jesus Christ, we have no hesitation in affirming that this excellent work, taking into account the admitted learning and activity of the distinguished author, will be a path of light and of consolation to the zealous hardworking priest.

J. M.

**L'Allemagne et la Réforme.** Vol. III. L'Allemagne depuis la fin de la Révolution sociale jusqu'à la Paix d'Augsburg (1525-1555). Par JEAN JANSSEN. Traduit de l'Allemand, sur la quinzième édition, par E. PARIS. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

THERE has been some delay in the appearance of this third volume of the French translation of Janssen's history of the German people, of which we noticed the first volume in 1888, and the second in the following year. We learn that this volume was in part ready when the learned author died (December 24, 1891), and the French editor gives us as an introduction a fairly full and very acceptable biographical sketch of Janssen's life and labours. It is interesting to note the promise of the future scholar and historian the young boy, who learned his first lessons from his earnest-minded father, whilst he imbibed, it is said, a certain quiet and tender piety and deep faith largely from his charming mother, whom he had lost when he was only thirteen. Then came the question of the boy's career, and his father discouraged his more literary aspirations, and practically enough ruled that a trade ought to be learned. And so it came about that young Janssen was apprenticed to a blacksmith in his native place: a prosaic start truly for a youth of genius. It is to his credit that he tried to do his duty, though the fascinations of the muse of history terribly distracted his mind at times. His master seems to have divined that the lad was not intended for the anvil, and a clerical relative, more strongly impressed with the same conviction, stepped in and brought about a happy change to college.

It was in Janssen's case, as so often—his great intellectual gifts had to be exercised the greater part of his life in despite of delicate health and frequent suffering. This is part explanation of his comparatively early death; he was not much over sixty, having been born in 1829. We learn that this French translation of his *magnum opus* had Janssen's warm sympathies and the benefit of some supervision from him. There remains a good half of the work yet to come; we can only trust that the remaining volumes will be translated with equal care and completeness. The French edition, it is pleasant to state, gives the valuable notes of the original, and each

of the volumes has its own indexes (of names and places), of immense service. The title-page sufficiently indicates the period covered by this third volume. The sanguinary and sad details of the Peasants' War of 1525 closed the second volume. This one takes up the story with the condition of the people at this time and carries the protracted account of efforts at pacification, which really meant the attempt of each side to keep or to gain its own, through Diets and endless debates, until the so-called "Peace" of Augsburg. The mass of details brought together with marvellous patience by Janssen need to be steadily read through if we are to understand how completely the Reformation in Germany also was a revolution of worldliness, pride, and some of the worst passions against authority. Against the principle of authority, for the Papacy was not the only form of it which suffered; though from the nature of the case a spiritual and religious power was the more irritating form of it to turbulent minds, and could defend itself least efficiently against their unscrupulous determination. It is the great triumph of Dr. Janssen's history that it has shown, and shown, manifestly from contemporary testimony, how little the Catholic Church deserved either the cry against her or the treatment she received, and that what needed remedy could have found it in legitimate procedure.

---

**Les Psaumes Commentés d'après la Vulgate et l'Hébreu.**

Par L. Cl. FILLION, prêtre de S. Sulpice, professeur d'Écriture Sainte au Grand Séminaire de Lyon. Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1893.

WE are prepared by the Abbé Fillion's former volumes of Biblical Commentary (notably his excellent volumes on each of the Evangelists in M. Lethielleux's large work, "The Bible, with Commentaries") to expect from him a really good work on the Psalms. We are not disappointed. The Abbé deals with the literal interpretation: leaving aside the symbolical, and not even permitting himself any of the devotional reflections which might be expected, and would have been so easy. In this he has been doubtless wise; and those will readily agree with him who already use the Psalter in their great daily duty of devotion—the recitation of the Breviary. It is a very great recommendation of the volume to say that the Abbé has produced as nearly exhaustive a literal commentary as any but professional students will require. When mystical interpretations—he remarks in his preface—are not founded on the literal sense, they are often forced, and frequently become frivolous or even erroneous: whilst they flow from the literal sense, spontaneously

and sweetly. To establish this literal interpretation the author avails himself of all the best exegetical aids, ancient and modern—both English and German modern writers of all shades have been steadily consulted by him. He gives the text of each psalm in the Latin and in a French translation, then discusses its authorship, the circumstance in which it was written, the subject and logical sequence of its ideas; and then follow notes on each verse, in succession, the Hebrew text being referred to constantly wherever it offers interesting difference or explains the Latin. We should also mention that the Latin and French texts are given by the author according to the rules of “parallelism,” or arrangement characteristic of Hebrew verse. This speaks to the eye, and is in truth, he remarks, the only exact and true method. As a test specimen of the author’s treatment no better example could be cited, perhaps, than the long psalm cxviii. He has some preliminary remarks on the variety of words used for the Law of God, and their shades of difference, and gives Delitzsch’s “headings” of each division of eight verses—usually, however, giving a fuller heading of his own, which will give a character to each group of eight verses and do much to lend meaning and charm to their daily repetition at Office. Abbé Fillion’s volume will in respect of other psalms also be found a help towards their intelligent and pious use—*psallam spiritu, psallam et mente* (1 Cor. xiv. 15).

---

**Words of Wisdom from the Scriptures:** a Concordance of the Sapiential Books. Prepared from the French. Edited by the Rev. JOHN J. BELL. With a Preface by the Very Rev. A. MAGNIEN, S.S., D.D. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

THE “Sapiential Books” of the Old Testament are *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *The Canticle of Canticles*, *Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*. These five writings are all alike quoted in the Roman Missal as “Books of Wisdom.” Of the first three the writer was Solomon himself; the other two are sometimes ascribed to him, but were not written by him. The French writer from whom this compilation is translated, has had the idea of arranging the “wisdom” of these sacred books under classified headings, for the use of preachers and others. We have the Duties of man towards God, Duties of man towards himself, Duties of man towards his neighbour, and Social Duties. The division is not a very efficient one; for instance, under the “Duties of man towards himself” the writer has to get in a great many sayings which are rather ethical principles than duties; whilst there are double chapters on such subjects as

"prudence," which is considered first as a duty to one's self and next as a social duty. The inevitable effect of isolating the sayings of Scripture from their context is to lead to certain dimness of comprehension. This does not matter so much in *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus*, but the magnificent reasonings of the book of *Wisdom* do not fail to suffer. The utility of the work, however, is self-evident. The texts are all given in full—not merely referred to—and in our Douay version. No citation is made from the *Canticle of Canticles*.

---

**Breviarum Romanum.** In duabus partibus. Editio Sexta Post Typicam. Ratisbonæ, Neo-eboraci et Cincinnati: F. Pustet. London: Burns & Oates. 1893. 8vo, xci-1048 (496)—xxxix-1012 (484).

**Idem.** In quatuor partibus. Editio quinta post typicam. xxxvi-436, xxxvi-404, xxxviii-364, lxxxiii-356.

WE are indebted to the well-known firm of Pustet for a new edition of the Roman Breviary, which we feel sure will be much appreciated by all who recite the daily Offices of the Church. The present edition, unlike most others in use, is in *two* handy volumes of convenient size. Though each comprises about 1600 pages, yet the paper is so thin (without being transparent) that the bulk is scarcely observable. The type is clear, black, and well-cut, so that it is easy and pleasant to read, and—what is of still greater importance in this age of new Offices—it is up to date, and all the recent additions to the book are in their proper places. The English supplement forms an appendix at the end of each volume; but the supplement is not quite up to date, since neither the Office of B. J. Fisher, *prima die libera post 22 Junii*, nor that of B. T. More, *prima die libera post 6 Julii*, is to be found in it. The edition in the four usual parts presents the same good qualities of paper and type in a more portable form. We can safely recommend it to any one-intending to purchase a new Office book.

J. S. V.

---

**Life of Father John Curtis, of the Society of Jesus.** By the Author of "Tyborne." &c. Revised by Father EDWARD PURBRICK, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THE name of Father John Curtis is already held in reverence and esteem in the country which was the scene of his long life of labours for God and his fellow-men. The biography before us will

give it, we feel sure, a wider circle of acquaintance, and will cause his light to shine in countries other than his own.

The career of Father Curtis, as the authoress tells us in her opening lines, was not one of striking incidents. His life was uneventful in the commonly accepted sense of the word. The career of a Rector of a College, of a Superior of a Missionary Residence, even of a Provincial of the Society of Jesus, comprises for the most part but a homely round of details. It is seldom that it runs out of the common groove. Yet we venture to assert that those who take up this biography will be interested by it, and will find in it something not merely to rouse their admiration, but to enkindle their sympathies, and, it may be, to stir them to emulation. They will meet in the kindly-hearted Rector of Tullabeg, in the fatherly Superior of Upper Gardiner Street, in the director of a missionary district of Dublin embracing every grade of society, one whose sympathies and whose devotedness were as wide-stretching as the multitude of souls that came within his reach—one who knew the way to reach the hearts of men, and how to draw them onwards in the path to a better life.

The secret of his influence with souls lay, as with all apostolic men, primarily and principally in the depth of his own interior life, in the likeness of his heart to that of the Divine Master of hearts. God found his soul a vessel empty, open, purified for the inpouring of His grace, and therefore He chose it as a "vessel of election," as a channel through which to pour His grace into the hearts of others of His children. Joined with this supernatural source of influence, or rather underlying it as the foundation on which his spiritual character was laid, there were in Father Curtis those natural qualities which go to make a man a power amongst his fellow-men. In him were blended tenderness with strength, delicacy and intensity of feeling with good sense, prudence and tact. But, what is more than these, he was possessed of that all-powerful gift of throwing himself into the thoughts, the feelings, the needs, the very aims and aspirations of other men, and, as it were by some magnetic force, of communicating to the spirit of his weaker brethren something of the life, force, and generosity of his own. The letters which his penitents wrote concerning him, after he was taken from their midst, give perhaps the most faithful portrait of what men found in him. One writes of him:

You could not fail to see at once that the sweet compassionate Heart of Jesus seemed to live in him. He saw virtue and goodness in every low-creature, no matter how wretched they might be (p. 58).

Another testifies:

He could say very hard things to me, and did too, but somehow one could not feel hurt. He was the one perfect person I ever met; his patience was inexhaustible. He was my staff and support in trials more bitter than death itself. When ill, he came directly to my bedside; when broken-hearted, he comforted me; and I feel that now in heaven he watches over me. I pray to him every day. I cannot yet realise that he is gone, and that I have not his wise head, kind heart, and true counsel to rely on. The blank even his letters have left! They were like rays of sunshine to us, who lead very lonely lives (*Ibid.*).

Another secret of the power of Father Curtis with souls was his devotion to the Apostleship of Prayer, of which he was an ardent promoter, and for some time the Central Director in Ireland. To him it served as the best and surest means of kindling in others the flame which burnt in his own apostolic breast. Space does not allow us to quote from the ardent words in which he urges this devotion. Reluctantly also must we leave unopened the rich treasures which are laid up in the many extracts the authoress has given from Father Curtis' letters to his relations, acquaintances, and friends in the religious life. Religious of every class, from the cloistered Carmelite to the ubiquitous Sister of Charity, from the Poor Clare to the Sister of Mercy, Nuns of the Sacred Heart, Christian Brothers, and, above all, the Ursulines, who counted so many of his own relations in their ranks, sought his counsel and profited by his advice. Those whose care it is to train up souls in holy religion, to educate the minds and hearts of the young, or to guide souls in the mazy paths of life in the world, will find in such fragments of Father Curtis' letters as are scattered throughout this biography a storehouse of new things and old. In conclusion, we need only say that the style of composition is light and easy throughout, and that the letterpress leaves nothing to be desired. We trust that this weightier volume will meet with the popularity which has so deservedly been accorded to the lighter works of the authoress of "Tyborne."

---

**Der Masorah text des Koheleths kritisch Untersucht.** Von SEBASTIAN EURINGER, priester der diocese Augsburg. Commissionsverlag der J. C. Hinrichschen buchhandlung. Leipzig. 1890.

**I**N this little work, containing nearly two hundred pages, Fr. Euringer has given us a critical examination of the Hebrew text of "Koheleth" (*Ecclesiastes*). A short introductory notice serves to inform the reader that the critical examination on which the author has entered, and which is now known by the name of textual criticism, tends to restore, as far as this is possible, the

Massoretic text to its original purity. Textual criticism, therefore, is widely different from what is commonly called literary or Biblical criticism, of which the end is to discuss the questions concerning the authorship and unity of our sacred books. Fr. Euringer further remarks that, to his knowledge, no book of the Hebrew Bible has as yet been submitted to a critical and scientific examination of its text, and that his work on "Kohleleth" is the first performance of textual criticism. In making this remark Fr. Euringer was mistaken; for at the same time that Fr. Euringer's book on "Kohleleth" appeared, Professor Driver of Oxford published his critical notes on the Massoretic text of the two books of Samuel. We could not help noticing that both critics differ as to the spelling of the word Massorah. While Fr. Euringer, following the custom of his countrymen, writes Masorah, Professor Driver of Oxford has adopted the Jewish tradition of spelling Massorah. As we cannot find any reason why we should deviate on this point from the tradition of the Jews, we give preference to Professor Driver's way of spelling Massorah. In the *Lexicon* by Lemans and Mulder we are told that according to Kimchi the samech of the word קִפְּרֶת should be written with dagesch forte to denote that the aleph of the root קָפַס (to bind) has fallen away.

The reason why amongst other books "Kohleleth" has been chosen by Fr. Euringer, is the new hypothesis of Professor Bichell concerning this book. Professor Bichell, Fr. Euringer tells us, maintains that the present order in which the ideas follow each other, and which no doubt is very imperfect and incoherent, is not the one intended by the author of "Kohleleth," but the result of a misfortune which has happened to the MSS. from which, as from a common source, the Alexandrine version as well as our Hebrew text have been derived. In these MSS., which Professor Bichell supposes to have consisted of four sheets, each sheet containing eight leaves, a pitiable confusion or mixing up of pages occurred by some unknown incident. To make again these MSS. intelligible, and to take away, at least apparently, the absolute incoherence of ideas into which this direful confusion of leaves had ended, a series of changes, additions, and interpolations became necessary. The present state of our "Kohleleth" is that which was effected by this restoration of the original text. Starting from this hypothesis, Professor Bichell ingeniously tries to recover from under the present condition of the book the true plan which the author himself had followed in putting forth and developing his ideas. This task, which Professor Bichell thinks to have accomplished, compelled him, as may be expected, to make many changes in the present text. In

his little work on "Kohemoth," Fr. Euringer, who opposes this "Unfalls hypothese," wishes to ascertain what text corrections are called forth and justified by purely scientific reasons. In connection with Professor Bichell's hypothesis, Fr. Euringer puts the question whether such a theory can be sustained from a theological point of view. Before answering this question he informs us that, like Professor Bichell, he does not consider "Kohemoth" as "a mere collection of diverse sentences put together without order—a general judgment passed on all that is under the sun." He is, however, also willing to concede that commentators until now have failed in trying to point out its true object, plan, and division. He therefore agrees with Delitzsch, who says that "alle Versuche, in dem Ganzen nicht nur eine Einheit des Geistes, sondern auch genetischen Fortgang alles beherrschenden Plan und organische Gliederung nachzuweisen, mussten bisher scheitern."

Fr. Euringer then proceeds to lay down the rule by which he will test the orthodoxy of Professor Bichell's hypothesis: "If the main thought, and the divinely intended contents of our book, in its present form, are identical with those of the text after it has been reconstructed by Professor Bichell, it is possible that God should have permitted such a mixing of the text to take place; for in this case the contents have remained the same. That the *Inspiratio* or *Assistentia Dei* only affects the contents of the sacred books, is a general theological opinion. If, on the other hand, the contents of our text are different from those of Professor Bichell's text, then is his hypothesis untenable, because it necessarily leads to the denial of the *Assistentia Dei* with regard to tradition." This rule Fr. Euringer then applies on Professor Bichell's theory. For, though he will not take unto himself the right of judging, he considers it lawful to state his opinion. Professor Bichell, we are told, though he succeeded, in a most ingenious manner, in constructing out of the canonical text a logical philosophical treatise on the value of life, has not in a full and exhaustive manner given back the contents of "Kohemoth." "Kohemoth," Fr. Euringer admits, argues on the value of life, but not exclusively. The hypothesis, therefore, of Professor Bichell appears to him, in the present case, inadmissible from a dogmatic point of view.

We abstain from examining the application which Fr. Euringer has made of his *Regula*, and we will restrict ourselves to discuss in few words the intrinsic value of his rule itself; not doubting that he allows us the right, which he has allowed to himself, of stating an opinion.

In the first place, we confess ourselves unable to follow the logic of the manner in which Fr. Euringer proceeds. In his *Regula* he

says that, unless the fundamental thought or contents of "Koheleth" are identical with those of Professor Bichell's text, his hypothesis cannot be admitted. How did Fr. Euringer, we feel inclined to ask, so suddenly succeed in determining, with a sufficient certainty, the fundamental thought or contents of our canonical text, while a few lines above the *object, plan, and division* of the book were pronounced to be a mystery not yet solved? Must we then conclude that for Fr. Euringer these three points are of no consideration at all to determine with certainty the main thought of a book?

In the second place, we think that the principle on which Fr. Euringer's *Regula* seems to be based, though very true in itself, is in the present instance entirely misleading: "Whatever necessarily leads to deny the *Assistentia Dei* with regard to tradition must be false." This, if we are not mistaken, is the principle from which Fr. Euringer proceeds. Now we fail to see that the hypothesis of Professor Bichell in any way leads to deny even a part of the *Assistentia Dei* with regard to tradition. It is a well-known fact that some of the inspired writings have entirely been lost. If an inspired book can perish without causing thereby anything incompatible with the Divine assistance in tradition, *a fortiori* the leaves of a sacred book can by some misfortune become mixed, with the result that the sense of it is obscured and its contents are somewhat altered.

Fr. Euringer has also devoted a few pages to a short discussion on the value and the authority of the different MSS. and versions which he uses in his subsequent examination. Though his remarks are clear and scientific, on the whole they are too short and do not sufficiently enter into details. For instance, we had expected to find a few words on Lucian's recension of the LXX., the text of which critics believe they have discovered in some of the later MSS. As Professor Driver tells us that Lucian's recension was a considerable help to him in his criticism on the books of Samuel, we should have liked to know whether it has the same importance, or even any importance at all, for the critical examination of the text of "Koheleth." Fr. Euringer himself laments the want of independence which the four codices *N*, A, B, C, betray with regard to the Hexapla of Origen.

Of his examination of the text itself we have taken but a short survey. Fr. Euringer, we readily concede, has performed his task in a thoroughly scientific manner. For assistance he used Professor Delitzsch's Commentary, whose opinion, he says, he adopts in all etymological and grammatical questions. We regret, however, very much that Fr. Euringer has not placed at the side of his critical observations a short paraphrase elucidating the literal sense of the text. Such an explanation would both have been easy to the author

and have occupied but little space; it would, moreover, show the practical results of the author's critical investigations, and would have doubled the value of his work, which is now only a book of reference.

C. V. B.

**Histoire du Cardinal Pitra, Bénédictin de la Congrégation de France** (Abbaye de Solesmes). Par le R. P. DOM FERNAND CABROL, Prieur de Solesmes. Paris: Victor Retaux et Fils. 1893. 8vo, xx-432 pages.

FATHER CABROL, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Catholic University of Angers, in the above book sets forth the life of a prelate who by his vast erudition, his numberless learned works, and by the splendour of his virtues as a Benedictine monk and a bishop has adorned the Church both in France and in Italy. The biographer has made a diligent use not only of Cardinal Pitra's printed works, the list of which occupies not less than ten pages (389-399), but also of his manuscripts and correspondence. Born on August 1, 1812, at Champforgeuil, diocese of Autun, Pitra in the due time became a secular priest. In 1842 he joined the Benedictines in Solesmes, under Abbot Guéranger. Whilst yet professor in the seminary at Autun, Pitra, with unwearied zeal and remarkable success, devoted himself to classical studies, which in 1841 bore fruit in the publication of his "*Études sur une inscription grecque trouvée à Autun.*" We may readily appreciate the far-reaching importance of these studies when we remember that the inscription referred to the *Ἰχθύς*, the well-known cryptogram for Our Lord in the ancient Christian symbolism. From that time the department of Christian science and literature, in which Pitra was destined to serve the Church, became clearly marked out for him. At the suggestion of Abbot Guéranger, to whom he was associated by a lifelong friendship, and for whom, even after his elevation to the purple, he bore the affection and veneration of a son, in 1863 Dom Pitra delivered lectures in the Abbey on the "*Écriture sainte dans l'Église Catholique,*" and on "*L'Église Romaine et la sainte Bible.*" We next meet with Pitra in Paris, where he became Superior of the newly founded but short-lived Benedictine Priory. During the embarrassments and difficulties which followed the appearance of Dom Guéranger's first volume of "*Institutions liturgiques,*" Pitra strongly supported the Abbot. At the same time, in the *Journal des villes et campagnes*, he contributed a series of weighty articles, reminding the defenders of the Gallican liturgy of some principles of canon law which they have all but totally left out of sight. Veuillot,

Lacordaire, Le Hir, Mgr. Parisis, Balmes, and Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Head-master of Harrow, were frequent visitors at Pitra's house in Paris. As a result of his acquaintance with Dr. Wordsworth, Dom Pitra visited England in 1845. The biography contains several interesting letters descriptive of Oxford life in those days, and also the account of a visit paid to John Henry Newman in Littlemore. After his return to France, Dom Pitra wrote his "Vie de St. Lèger," a model of hagiography, and one which elicited praise even in those quarters where, as a rule, the lives of the Saints are not unduly appreciated. To minor writings on the Bollandists and Catholic Holland, Dom Pitra, from 1852 to 1888, added the "Spicilegium Solesmense" and the "Analecta parata Spicilegio Sol," the last volume of which made its appearance after his death. Volume the first possesses a peculiar interest for English scholars, exhibiting, as it does, the researches made by the indefatigable Benedictine in the principal libraries and archives of England. It was in 1859 that Cardinal Reisach, to whose virtues and learning the late lamented Cardinal Manning, in his famous history of the Vatican Council, has borne eloquent witness, read some articles contributed by Dom Pitra to the *Univers* on Rhalli's and Potli's (Athens, 1852) collection of Greek canonical laws, and warmly recommended him to Pius IX. Being summoned to Rome, he proceeded, with the approval of the Pope, to Russia. Supported by Count Montebello, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, he for several months made a thorough examination of the libraries in the capital and in Moscow. After his elevation to the purple, Dom Pitra brought out the results of these researches in the two volumes, "Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta," in which he clearly and unanswerably set forth the important action of the Popes on behalf of the Greek Church. Wholly devoting himself to his studies on ancient Christian literature, but not less active in the work of the Roman Congregations, Cardinal Pitra in 1869 became first Prefect of the Vatican Library. After the Vatican Council he became Bishop of Frascati, and in 1884 Bishop of Porto. Whilst discharging with exemplary faithfulness the duties of a bishop, he nevertheless was able to find opportunity for continuing his Spicilegium. We congratulate the author for his attractive biography of one of the first scholars of the century, whose learning is only eclipsed by the solidity of his virtues.

A. BELLESHEIM.

---

**Histoire de mon Temps : Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier.**  
 Publiées par M. LE DUC D'AUDIFFRET-PASQUIER. Première  
 Partie : Révolution—Consulat—Empire. Tome i., 1789–1810,  
 pp. 536. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

THE Chancellor Pasquier, the first volume of whose memoirs has just been published, was born while Louis XV. was king, and lived till well into the latter half of the reign of Napoleon III. Sprung from a family of lawyers, he was already a member of the old Parliament of Paris when the Revolution broke out. His sympathies were at first all in favour of the popular party, but the excesses of the mob at the taking of the Bastille and during the bloody days of October converted him into an enthusiastic Royalist. At the king's trial he and his father, who was an intimate friend of M. de Malesherbes, did their utmost to save their master; and young Pasquier was present at the closing scene on the memorable 21st of January. Both father and son were cast into prison as members of the old Parliament. The elder perished on the scaffold during the Terror; the younger owed his preservation to the downfall of the arch-tyrant, Robespierre. For the next ten years Pasquier managed to live in comparative peace, though he remained faithful to the Bourbon cause. At length, however, when Napoleon had been crowned by Pius VII. and had returned in triumph after Austerlitz, the former Parliamentarian judged that any further opposition to the new *régime* was hopeless. At his own request he was appointed an official of the *Conseil d'État*, lately established by the Emperor, and later on became Prefect of Police, a post which he held at the close of the period described in this first volume of his memoirs.

It will be seen that, so far at least, Pasquier played no very prominent part in the great events which he witnessed. The interest of his memoirs arises chiefly from the fact that he was in an admirable position to see and hear what was going on, and that he possessed a keen insight into character and above all a just appreciation of the forces at work around him. He modestly declines to draw anything like a picture of the bloody scenes of the Revolution or of the marvellous victories of the Grand Army. He just notes the main facts; he sketches the leading men with a few vivid strokes, only now and then giving us a finished portrait. He is at his best when he recounts the sound advice which he gave in the Council, and when he makes his wise reflections on the course which events took. The latter part of chap. ii. (pp. 41–50), in which he sums up the causes and results of the Revolution, is worthy of Edmund Burke

himself. He insists that it was not so much the misery of France, but her prosperity, which led to the upheaval; that is to say, the condition of the *tiers état* had so greatly improved that they refused to submit any longer to a feeble king and a corrupt Court. Another striking portion of the memoirs is that dealing with the abortive National Council summoned by Napoleon in 1811. Pasquier does not conceal his entire disapproval of the Emperor's attempt to yoke the Church to his triumphal car. It is noteworthy that his two weakest adversaries, those humanly speaking least capable of resistance, contributed most to his downfall. Nothing was easier than to seize the person of the venerable Pontiff and to overrun Spain; but these two flagrant acts of injustice aroused the indignation of all right-minded men, and convinced the Great Powers that there could be no peace with the despot who perpetrated them.

Any one who reads the first volume of Pasquier's memoirs will eagerly look forward to the appearance of those which are to follow.

T. B. SCANNELL.

**Précis Historique de l'Affaire du Panama.** Par AUG. LUCAS. 8vo, pp. 250. Paris: Delhomme et Briguet. 1892. (2 fr. 50 c.)

THIS handy little volume contains a clear and concise account of the miserable Panama scandal. How the mighty scheme of the Canal was wrecked and the savings of the thrifty peasant were squandered will always excite interest and sympathy. But M. Lucas has drawn especial attention to the part played by the French Government, first in sharing the spoils, and afterwards in endeavouring to prevent any inquiry. Nothing but the extraordinary ability and persistence of M. Delahaye and the dauntless courage of M. Déroulède could have succeeded in dragging the culprits from their hiding-places and holding them up to the reprobation of the world. Up to the time when M. Lucas published his book six Ministers had already fallen, five others were under a cloud, and the President of the Chamber had been dismissed. The dastardly attempt of the Ministry to implicate the members of the Right had no other result than to bring further discredit upon themselves. Nevertheless, the mass of the French electors have lately shown that they are satisfied with the existing form of government. Is it not time for the Right to recognise this fact and to do their best to secure the presence of capable and honourable men among the Ministry? Hitherto they have acted upon the principle: *pour aller au mieux il*

*faut passer par le pire.* Has not "the worst" been reached already? They had better make the best of the Republic, at least until such time as some Royalist or Bonapartist hero shall arise.

T. B. S.

---

**Histoire du R. P. de Clorivière de la Compagnie de Jésus.**

Par le P. JACQUES TERRIEN, de la même Compagnie. 8vo, pp. 614. Paris: Ch. Poussielgue. 1892.

**P.** DE CLORIVIÈRE made his final vows as a Jesuit on the P. Feast of the Assumption 1773, the day before the suppression of the Society by Pope Clement XIV. He lived to see its revival by Pius VII., and had the happiness of spending his last years as a member of the order. As one of the links between the old Society and the new his life is of much interest. The English reader will note that Clorivière was educated by the English Benedictines at Douai. His knowledge of our language was of great use to him in after-life. When his religious brethren were expelled from France, he was transferred to the English province, and served in the English colleges abroad and also in England. This portion of his career is a valuable contribution to the history of the English Church during the early years of toleration.

T. B. S.

---

**L'Adjudant-Général Jean Landrieux:** Introduction à ses Mémoires. Par LÉONCE GRASILIER. 8vo, pp. 360. Paris: Albert Savine. 1893.

**L** ANDRIEUX played an important part in the secret history of Napoleon's early campaigns in Italy. His conduct, however, proved so displeasing to the young conqueror, that he was never again employed in the army. His memoirs, written to justify himself, are now in course of publication. M. Léonce Grasilier, who has undertaken the work of editing them, has written an introductory volume giving an account of Landrieux's life before the Italian campaign, and also dealing with his relations with the Irish general, Kilmaine. This Introduction is the result of wide reading, and affords the editor the opportunity of correcting many misstatements of writers on the same period. His "Life of General Kilmaine," which is already in hand, will be awaited with interest.

T. B. S.

---

**Honnête avant Tout.** Par M. J. RIBET. 8vo, pp. 324. Paris : Delhomme et Briguet.

**M**EN often make no secret of their infidelity or failings against the moral law, but they never boast of being dishonest. Here then the Abbé Ribet finds ground common to the believer and unbeliever, and calls on both alike to be honest above all things. By honesty he means the observance of the second table of the Law—that is, respect for our neighbour's rights to his life, his wife, his goods, and his good name. After defining and dividing his subject, he devotes a long chapter to a scathing attack on the different classes of offenders against honesty. The priest is the first on his list, and certainly is not spared; and “priest” is here meant to include “bishop,” as the good Abbé plainly indicates. Some fierce denunciations are levelled at the ecclesiastic who seeks to obtain a mitre as a reward for connivance with the misdeeds of the government. Then the judge, the lawyer, the doctor, the schoolmaster, the trader, the workman, the peasant, and many others come in for their share of castigation. The Jew and the Freemason, of course, receive the hardest knocks. Even M. Drumont might take lessons from the author of “*Honnête avant Tout*.” Finally, the various causes of dishonesty are pointed out and discussed with much shrewd knowledge of human nature. On the whole, this little book will be of great service to priests when preaching on the Commandments. They will find in it plenty of “up-to-date” matter set forth in that smart epigrammatic style for which Frenchmen are famous.

T. B. S.

- 
1. **The Pentamerone.** By GIAMBATTISTA BASILE. Translated from the Neapolitan by JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR. New edition, revised and edited by HELEN ZIMMERN. 8vo, xii-218. London : Fisher Unwin. 1893.
  2. **Finnish Legends for English Children.** By R. RIVIND. 8vo, pp. 214. London : Fisher Unwin. 1893.

**T**HESE two volumes of the “Children’s Library” have an interest and value for older students of folk-lore as well. They may be taken as representative of the two main branches into which the popular epos divides itself, roughly distinguishable as the Asiatic, and the Scandinavian or Teutonic. In the former, the main interest centres in the human element with demoniac agencies, adverse and favourable, intervening in the fortunes of the mortals concerned, The second bear the character rather of nature or elemental myths,

more or less disguised, the foundation of the drama being allegorical, and the human actors either subsidiary or symbolical. Thus in the flight of Aino from her aged spouse in the Finnish tale, we have a variant of the fable of Aurora and Tithonus, or the wooing of the radiant dawn by the decrepit dusk of the fading night. The Rainbow-maiden, who sits weaving her gold and silver tissues throned upon the bow of heaven, is one of the obvious embodiments of elemental phenomena, as are Ilmater, the daughter of the ether and Ilmarinen, the wondrous smith who forged the heavens all of one piece. The "*Pentamerone*," on the other hand, composed or compiled in the seventeenth century, is a storehouse of the more vulgar fable of human adventure modified by wizardry, and has required a large amount of expurgation to fit it either for children or any class of English readers. But as the vivacity of the Neapolitan imagination has here vivified the old subjects with its own peculiar humour, they form a very amusing collection of tales.

---

**Les Tonga et le R. P. Joseph Chevron de la Société de Marie.**

Par le P. A. MONFAT de la même Société. 8vo, pp. 473. Lyon : Emanuel Vitte.

**T**HIS record of a heroic life is as full of the romance of adventure as it is of lessons of spiritual abnegation. Nowhere are the sacrifices required of the missionary more vividly brought home to the mind than in its simple narrative of suffering and submission. Père Chevron's life was one of perpetual self-immolation, from the moment when his call to the apostolate was first realised by him with its inexorable sentence of exile from home and all its cherished affections.

A loved and loving member of a united family, brought up amid all the elegancies and refinements of life, the recognition of his vocation was an agony to him from the first. Yet he never faltered in his obedience, and the ten years of probation imposed on him by his superior left him unshaken in his determination to follow it. This supreme sacrifice was a fitting preparation for the sufferings that ensued, when the commonest necessities of life were wanting to him, and the pangs of hunger were added to the other moral and material privations entailed on a man of fastidious nicety by his enforced association with people in the lowest stage of barbarism and degradation.

The Tonga, or Friendly Islands, of which he became the apostle and patriarch, are believed to have been colonised by a wave of Mongol migration, there parted into two streams, of which one

reached Samoa, and the other Fiji. Cannibalism, so prevalent that chiefs of the same party lay in wait to slaughter each other, was only abolished in 1809, by the decree of a sagacious ruler who, seeing the extermination of the population imminent, declared human flesh to be tabu. So apathetic were the natives that, despite the fertility of the soil, which renders one day's work in the week sufficient to provide amply for the wants of a family, they would endure the extremity of hunger rather than work, cheating its pangs by spending their time in sleep. This tendency was encouraged by the prevalence of communism, entitling all to share in the food prepared, or the harvest reaped, and thus enabling the idle to live on the labour of the industrious, if any such there had been. It was to these habits that the early sufferings of the missionaries were due, for food was scarcely to be had in the huts of the natives, while the system of pillage in vogue rendered it useless to attempt to raise it for themselves. Père Chevron at first shared the labours of Père Chanel, the proto-martyr of Oceania, since beatified, in the island of Futuna, but was early transferred to that of Tonga-Tapu, where nearly the whole of his missionary life of forty years was passed. Among his many trials was the persecution of his flock by King George, the convert of the Wesleyans, who laid siege to Pea, the Catholic stronghold, and reduced it after several months' investment. The fruit of years of labour seemed destroyed by the flight of some of the neophytes and the abjuration of others, but this disaster was followed by a great recovery, and even the dispersal of the Catholics tended to the diffusion of their faith, as they carried its seeds to other islands of the archipelago. The visible teaching conveyed in the life of Père Chevron was the means of working a miraculous change in the manners of these ferocious savages, who formed, before his death, model Christian communities. Though of frail constitution, and slowly failing in health for many years, he lived to celebrate his sacerdotal jubilee, and the rejoicing in which all the islanders, even the Wesleyan converts, took part, was a wonderful testimonial to the affection he had at last won from hearts hardened by the inherited vices of paganism. This touching record of a life of such self-devotion gains an added charm from the simple grace with which it is narrated, and would well repay translation into English.

---

**La Route du Tchad, du Loango au Chari.** Par JEAN DYBOWSKI.

Large 8vo, pp. 381. Paris: Firmin Didot & Cie. 1893.

THE exploratory mission of which M. Dybowski tells the story in an ample volume, enriched with 136 original drawings, was intended to be auxiliary to that of M. Crampel, and started in 1891,

a year later than he did, in order to follow on his track, and combine with him in the interior of Africa. The design of the first explorer, of penetrating through the unknown regions about Lake Tchad to Algeria, was, as we know, frustrated by his death at the hands of the savage tribes in the basin of the Chari, and M. Dybowski felt it incumbent on him to avenge him by a night attack on the camp of his supposed murderers, in which many were killed and wounded. Returning after this exploit by the route along which he had advanced, he descended the Oubangi, the great northern affluent of the Congo. This river was traversed in steamer and canoes as far as Bembe, five degrees from the equator, and as it is destined to play a large part in the future development of Africa, all his details of its scenery and inhabitants are full of interest. Among the Afourus, who occupy the country near its junction with the Congo, he found human sacrifices practised by the chiefs, either to propitiate the divinities, or merely as a form of ostentation. The men, captured for the purpose from neighbouring villages, are slaughtered wholesale, their heads being preserved as trophies. Yet in this district, at Lyrango, the Catholic mission, consisting of three Fathers, the most advanced towards the interior on this side, remains unmolested, and on friendly terms with the natives.

---

**Die Willensfreiheit und ihre Gegner.** Von Dr. C. GUTBERLET. 8vo, pp. 270. Fulda. 1893.

**D**R. GUTBERLET is well known in Germany as one of the ablest Catholic defenders of the truths of natural religion; and the small volume before us will certainly add to his deserved reputation. A very brief account of its contents will show its practical importance at the present day, when the freedom of the will is so persistently attacked on all sides. The author begins with a definition of free-will, which he shows is a choice of means to an end. To establish that such a freedom of choice exists, he appeals to the testimony of consciousness in all men not "debauched by philosophy," of which the clearest proof is the universal belief in responsibility, and the consequent apportionment of praise and reward, or blame and punishment. In all this part of the book there is little or nothing new, the ordinary arguments being stated clearly and with sobriety. There is more scope for originality in dealing with the objections that have been raised of late years. Perhaps the most plausible of these is based upon the statistics of all kinds of voluntary acts, especially of crimes and offences against the law, which demonstrate that these are subject to uniformities as

distinct as any that prevailed in natural phenomena. Dr. Gutberlet analyses very carefully the figures that have been worked out, and shows conclusively that the figures do not prove that the will is not free in its choice, but that it acts according to rules and motives, and therefore with uniform results when large groups of men are dealt with instead of individuals. The results of the statistical method have their value in showing us how an all-wise Governor of the universe can so order the environment and relations of rational beings as to make them in the mass carry out any end He may design, although each individual is free.

Another recent objection to the freedom of the will is grounded on the observations of the so-called anthropological school, of which Professor Lombroso is the chief and best known representative. He has shown that the anatomical peculiarities of habitual criminals are as definite and uniform as the kindred characteristics of idiocy and epilepsy; and he argues that they are evidences of reversion to an atavistic type when human beings were not free. Our author appears hardly to realise the force which the results of the anthropological school have for biologists and physicians—in short, for all who are in the habit of weighing similar evidence. Whatever their value and interest, they deal only with abnormal states, and the most they prove is that there are more such human beings in the world than we knew before. Nor can it be urged that the characteristics of habitual criminals give us any reliable information as to the condition of primitive man, for they are at least as likely to be due to a process of degeneration as to reversion to ancestral characters.

The most determined of recent opponents of free-will have been the physiological psychologists of Germany, headed by Wundt. He protests on the metaphysical ground that a free act is necessarily an uncaused one, and is therefore inconceivable as being a contradiction in terms, a confusion which Dr. Gutberlet has no difficulty in exposing. Nor is the suggestion more formidable, that all our actions, including voluntary ones, are merely varieties of the reflex activity of the nervous system in response to a stimulus: for the facts of life unmistakably testify that those very acts which we recognise as voluntary are often performed in opposition to external impressions.

The arguments against free-will raised by purely speculative philosophy will be less attractive to the general reader. But the account given of the controversy as carried on by disciples of Schopenhauer and Lotze will be of great interest to the student of philosophy, and is full of that lucidity which is the most valuable

quality in philosophical criticism. Hartmann is only incidentally mentioned, his system having been dealt with in another volume but there is a full account of the objections to free-will made by a modern Danish philosopher, Harald Høffding, many of which are new in form if not in substance. This very meagre account of Dr. Gutberlet's volume will at any rate serve to welcome gladly an addition of value to Catholic philosophy, and will show that it is indispensable to all students of the very important subject it treats so well.

---

**Marie Bonneau de Miramion.** By CECILIA MARY CADDELL. 8vo, pp. 188. London and Leamington: The Art and Book Company.

WE welcome a new edition of this interesting little "Life," by the gifted author of "Wild Times." The heroic acts of Marie de Rubelle—afterwards Marie Bonneau de Miramion—as maiden, wife, widow, and mother (for her widowhood dawned before her early motherhood), are well worthy of being told and re-told. The story of her abduction while reading like a chapter of a romance of the reign of "the Merry Monarch," proves the truth of the old adage, "truth is stranger than fiction." Her trust in God under the most hopeless circumstances, humanly speaking, was of the most perfect order. A widow and a mother at the age of seventeen, she resists all negotiations for a second marriage, and lives "in the world but not of it," until it pleased the Divine Spouse to ask her for her heart. The friend of St. Vincent de Paul, and the almoner of the fourteenth Louis, she was as humble as if she were of low degree instead of being the daughter of one of the noblest of the French nobility and the widow of another of the same class. Her labours in the Hôtel Dieu, her connection with the Daughters of St. Geneviève, her foundation of the "Sainte Famille," and of "La chambre de travail de la Paroisse," are all worthy of admiration, if not of imitation.

The care of her own daughter and of her spiritual daughters, as well as of poor sinful girls whom she rescued from a life worse than death, was heaven-inspired, and she never wavered in spending her fortune and her life in their service. A peaceful death closed a saintly and an arduous life. Those of our readers who have not read "Marie Bonneau de Miramion" should procure a copy of this new edition.

---

**Das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis. Seine Geischichte und sein Inhalt.** Von P. GUITBERT BAEUMER, Benediktiner der Beuroner Congregation. 8vo, pp. 236. Mainz : Verlag von Franz Kirchheim. 1893.

**T**HIS small volume of 236 pages, giving a history and explanation of the Apostles' Creed, is scholarly written. It is highly interesting and merits all our praise, for who does not like to be acquainted with the history of a prayer which we daily recite? and Father Guibert Baeumer gives us its history in a manner both pleasing and instructive. The author is thoroughly conversant with his subject, for in a masterly way he describes all the various phases through which the Apostles' Creed passed till it received, in the beginning of the sixth century, its present form.

If we were asked to give in few words the conclusion of Father Baeumer's historical investigation, we should answer: "our Creed is called the Apostles' Creed because it contains those chief truths of Christian doctrine which formed the principal contents of the apostolic preaching." When the *Catechismus Romanus* says: "Sancti Apostoli, Divino Spiritu afflati, Christianae fidei formulam componendam censuerunt," and "hanc Christianae fidei et spei professionem a se compositam Symbolum appellarunt," and "duodecim symboli articulis distinxerunt," it merely adopts the tradition common in the Middle Ages and held by some of the Fathers, that the Apostles, before separating, in council and under Divine Inspiration, composed our present Symbolum. In a sermon formerly ascribed to St. Augustine, but really from the sixth century, we find his opinion expressed in the following manner: "Petrus dixit, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terræ; Andreas dixit, Et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum; Jacobus dixit, Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus de Maria Virgine, etc."

The first traces of the Apostles' Creed we meet in the southern part of France towards the close of the fifth century. A certain Faustus, Bishop of Reji or Reiz, 460-490, says, in his work, "*De Spiritu Sancto*," that the Symbolum contains a summary of the doctrine of the Catholic Church. From different works of Faustus, in which the articles of the Symbolum are quoted, Fr. Baeumer gives the following version:

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem (Creatorem coeli et terrae). Credo et in Filium ejus (unicum) Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine (passus sub Pontio Pilato), crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus: (descendit ad inferos): tertia die resurrexit (a mortuis): ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dextram Dei Patris

omnipotentis ; inde venturus (est) judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam.

The words between parentheses are wanting, but may be supplied from a Homily (Sermo 242 de Symbolo vi., ad Competentes), which, though published amongst the works of St. Augustine, is not of this father, but may, with a considerable amount of probability, be ascribed to Faustus.

In the fourth and fifth centuries *Symbola Fidei* were frequently used in the Church. The fathers often make mention of them. But although their contents may be said to be substantially the same, they differ greatly as to their wording both from each other and from our present version. As an example we will give the *Symbolum* used in the Church of Antioch, as we have it from John Cassian, a Gallican priest, in his work against Nestorius :

Nunc ad fidem Antiocheni Symboli virtutemque veniamus. In quam ipse (Nestorius) baptizatus sit ac renatus suis etiam professionibus argui, suis ut ita dicam armis conteri potest. Textus ergo ac fides Antiocheni Symboli haec est. Credo in unum et solum verum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturarum, et in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unigenitum, et primogenitum totius creaturae, ex eo natum ante omnia saecula et non factum, Deum verum ex Deo vero, homoousion Patri, per quem et saecula compaginata sunt et omnia facta. Qui propter nos venit ; et natus est ex Maria Virgine. Et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus. Et tertia die resurrexit secundum scripturas. Et in coelos ascendit. Et iterum venit judicare vivos et mortuos. Et reliqua.

The third part of this creed, containing the doctrine on the Holy Ghost and the Church, Cassian has omitted, perhaps as not necessary for his purpose. As to the three first centuries, the fathers, it is true, contain many allusions and extracts from the *Symbolum* of their days ; they even have left behind certain *Regulae Fidei*, but we do not possess from them any complete explanation or scientific discussion on this subject.

It is clear from Fr. Baeumer's able investigation that an apostolic authorship in the ordinary sense can no longer be claimed for our creed. Yet Fr. Baeumer admits the possibility that the Apostles composed a *Symbolum* which might well have been the basis of our present creed. He recommends this possibility for various reasons. He finds, for instance, allusions to a *symbolum* in the epistles of St. Paul. In 1 Timothy vi. 11, St. Paul exhorts his disciple, " Lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art called, and hast confessed a confession before many witnesses." The confession of which St. Paul speaks, Fr. Baeumer argues, presupposes a sort of *symbolum fidei*. He

next compares our creed with the sermons of St. Peter, Acts ii. 3 ; iii. 26, and concludes that the contents and order of ideas are the same as in our creed. He considers it, moreover, necessary that the Apostles or their disciples should have composed a symbolum. The spreading of the faith amongst the heathen, with their philosophical systems, the persecutions, the rising of heresies, required that the newly converted Pagan or Jew should give a guarantee of the sincerity of his faith before receiving baptism. Hence the widely spread custom during the first centuries of the Church of requiring from the catechumen an explicit confession of faith in the main articles of the Christian doctrine.

---

**Geschichte des Alten Testaments mit besondere Rücksicht auf das Verhältniß von Bibel und Wissenschaft.**—Von Dr. EMILIAN SCHÖPFER. Erster Hallband. Brixen, Verlag der Buchhandlung des Katholisch-politischen Pressvereins.

**D**R. SCHÖPFER gives us in this work a history of the people of Israel. The work, however, is, as the title indicates, not merely a narrative of the wonderful events through which the nation of Israel has passed, but it discusses also those scientific, critical, and historical questions which are so closely connected with it. Of the two volumes, in which the work will be completed, the present volume, containing 240 pages, traces the history of Israel from the creation of the world till the death of Josue. The book is neatly printed, the paper is good, and the type large and distinct. It is, moreover, well written ; the style being such as the subject requires, grave, simple, and clear. A proper and systematic order has been observed throughout the book, and on the whole the author has acquitted himself of his task with great success.

Although the work seems to be more directly composed for the use of theological students, yet we do not hesitate to recommend it to a wider sphere of readers. The volume, though comparatively small, contains a wonderful amount of information, and the author has taken care that it should be up to date.

It is the result of extensive reading and of much serious study. The modern problems, such as the creation of the world, the authorship and composition of some of our sacred books, are not merely noticed, but are treated at a length and in a manner proportionate to their importance. No less, for instance, than thirty pages are devoted to the discussion of what Dr. Schöpfer calls "Wellhausen's theory on the authorship of the Pentateuch." The name, however, is not correct. The conclusion of the higher criticism concerning

the Pentateuch are no more the discovery of Wellhausen than that of any other critic, for they are the result of the combined labour of the most eminent scholars in Europe from the beginning of this century till the present day. With regard to the authorship of the Pentateuch, Dr. Schöpfer maintains a strongly conservative position.

---

**Saturday Dedicated to Mary.** From the Italian of Father Cabrini, S.J. With Preface and Introduction, by FATHER CLARKE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1893. Quarterly Series.

**T**HIS excellent and pious book contains fifty-two meditations, one for each Saturday in the year. The author has arranged his subject matter in chronological order. He follows the series of events of Mary's life, as they gradually show forth all her wonderful gifts, privileges, and virtues, beginning with her Immaculate Conception, or rather with God's eternal decrees concerning her, till her coronation in Heaven, including the protection she thence continues to exercise over her devoted children on earth. As for the meditations themselves, we cannot do better than by quoting a few words from Father Clarke's able preface:

They put forward the virtues, privileges, and prerogatives of the holy Mother of God with a fulness of detail, and with a picturesque simplicity that is admirably calculated to kindle devotion to Mary, and foster the love of her incomparable virtues, and desire to imitate them. They are the work of a good theologian, and the pious reflections they contain have invariably a sound theological basis. They are methodical, inspired by a devoted love of Mary, illustrated by constant quotations from the Saints and Doctors of the Church, and at the end of each some history is narrated which brings out the prerogative of Mary that is its special subject.

---

**The Principles of Ethics, Vol. II.** By HERBERT SPENCER. London: Williams & Norgate. 1893.

**M**R. SPENCER has so far recovered from his long illness as to be able now to put forth a continuation of the system of morals to which he has given himself. But the present volume will not be found to contain much that is new. Like those which have gone before it, while in diction copious, and in well-adapted illustrations fertile and full of interest, the book is little more than a commentary upon "The Data of Ethics," and must be submitted to the same kind of criticism. On the problems of conduct, public, private, and individual, which mostly occupy our thoughts to-day,

Mr. Spencer expresses himself with a mild, yet dogmatic, firmness, which is in striking contrast to the wise diffidence of men of the world like Aristotle, or of contemplative minds like St. Thomas. Steady, persevering, and surely rather dull, this insular treatment of all the great questions cannot but seem wanting in breadth and height to the student who knows more than one philosophy. It has no inspiration to bear it up, no ether in which to float; and the eternal balancing of my pleasure against yours, the book-keeping, as in some universal provider's, which sets remote against immediate consequences, and is nothing if not mercantile, leaves a sense of distaste and weariness—the sure result when morality is pulled down from its high estate, and becomes, as Plato would say, “the art of measurement,” not the pursuit of good and avoidance of evil without regard to “consequences.”

As in dealing with First Principles altogether, so in Ethics, Mr. Spencer has a false air of agreeing with the old school of intuition against the new, which, in Bentham, Mill, and Huxley, relies upon experience, and casts away the *a priori*. Bentham, for instance, would regulate conduct by calculating the happiness within reach; but Mr. Spencer will not hear of so short-sighted an expedient; no, he says, we must go by justice and the laws of nature dictated by justice. All which, however, turns out to be misleading. Justice never signifies, in this volume, giving every man his due because it is right—in the only distinct, aboriginal, and recognised meaning of “right,” as differing from the expedient or the agreeable—it does but amount to a law of the useful, which mankind, by long ages of trial, have found to work well. In principle, Bentham and Mr. Spencer agree utterly; they pursue varying methods, that is all. For the expediency of “the den”—to speak with Lord Bacon—which was Bentham's rule, Mr. Spencer would substitute the expediency of “the tribe.” But his *bonum honestum* is nothing else than *bonum utile* or *bonum delectabile*; it never is the thing in itself which we know as the moral “Ought,” and which cannot be an accident or a mere result of any other kind of good. The sharpest and most searching judgment on this fundamental perversion of languages and ideas may be read in Dr. Ward's masterly treatise “On Nature and Grace.” There, in remarkably plain language, the great truth on which ethical science depends, is brought to light, and we are made aware that “right” and “ought” are primitive, not derived from other conceptions, nor to be resolved into them, but self-evident intuitions, wholly of their own kind, like the idea of “the beautiful,” or of “cause,” or of “intellect” itself. With this clue we cannot go wrong, even in Mr. Spencer's maze. But we should bear in mind

that the distinction between the ethical and the expedient, though always a part of Catholic teaching, has been in some measure obscured in our text-books by the practice of discussing, after Cicero and Aristotle, the question of the *summum bonum* on stereotyped lines. The change introduced by Kant, not, indeed, as regards the notion, but in language and terminology, had, at least, one good effect. Not only did it wake philosophers from their "dogmatic dream" by asking them to examine the structure of their thoughts, it gave to moral science a character *sui generis* which set it free from even the slightest risk of being confounded with Hedonism, or the mere pursuit of happiness.

But Mr. Spencer, in the letters which he prints between himself and Mr. Llewellyn Davies, adds one more proof that he cannot so much as imagine a "categorical imperative" which we obey because we "ought," and not because of "consequences" to ourselves or others. He does actually believe that the difference between himself and men who repudiate the principles of the Utilitarian school, turns simply on the question whether we take into account the "ultimate consequences" of our acts, or only their more or less immediate effects in the way of "agreeable feeling." It seems hopeless to argue when the issues have been so completely misapprehended. To keep in view "consequences," whether likely to happen now or on the Day of Judgment, may be, or rather certainly is, the duty of rational creatures; but volitions which are determined simply by the agreeable feeling they will produce, are in no sense ethical, for they do not contain the element of doing right because it is right, which to ethical choice is essential and indispensable. And Dr. Martineau has made short work of the optimism which from self-interest would derive universal benevolence, or identify the progress of the species with the happiness of the individual.

Significantly enough, in this volume the author makes no pretence to found his conclusions on the results of "evolution," by which he means a blind law, issuing in the survival of those organisms which are fitted to survive. Evolution thus imagined has been commonly charged with a disregard which would be cruel, if it were conscious, of the finer qualities in our make. Of course Mr. Spencer understands by "Justice" letting evolution have its way, though countless individuals be trampled under its rolling wheels. Yet, when he comes to lay down rules for our conduct, he finds it needful to temper this ferocious code with mercy and benevolence. The "fittest" are actually to bear with the unfit, in some degree at least; and evolution is to be modified by a principle of very different scope. In the ethics of mercy we are to say, "Live and

let live," although evolution has never hesitated to employ all its power against the feeble, the ignorant, and the miscalculating. What, we may truly ask, has the struggle of "might" to do with the establishment of "right" as such? If there is justice in the course of things, it implies a quality in the unknowable which (as Mr. Spencer would find on giving it due consideration) brings back the old questions of theology, and with them the need of an answer of which in his pages there has never been a trace. Or, if the idea and the "sentiment" of justice be "a conscious response to certain necessary relations in the order of Nature," it is clear that evolution ought to mean Providence. And then the survival of the fittest—that is to say, of all who have a right to survive—will lead on to inquiries concerning judgment to come and eternal life, which, as we deem, are somewhat more momentous than the thousand and one details of temporal progress, with which these so-called ethics are concerned.

Experience occasionally shows [says Mr. Spencer, in a concluding section, which is not without pathos] that there may arise extreme interest in pursuing entirely unselfish ends, and as time goes on there will be more and more of those whose unselfish end will be the further evolution of humanity. While contemplating from the heights of thought that far-off life of the race never to be enjoyed by them, but only by a remote posterity, they will feel a calm pleasure in the consciousness of having aided the advance towards it.

This may remind us of Dorothea Brooke's creed expressed in "Middelmarch," of "widening the skirts of light." It imagines the heaven of the human race to be on this planet, and the life of the individual to be a means, not an end in itself. Does it answer to man's deepest thought? Is it enough to satisfy his reason or his nature? And is it so much as consistent, or not self-contradictory, even in these few lines? The "extreme interest" and the "calm pleasure," have they no tincture of selfishness in them? Are they not forms of "agreeable feeling"? And from this point of view shall we term them ethical, when they are, in truth, the extreme of refined self-indulgence? But if the "further evolution of humanity" be ever so desirable an aim, what obligation have I, the creature of a day, to trouble myself about it? Shall I be told by Mr. Spencer that it is my "right," if not my "duty," to take up this benevolent task? What, on his line of argument, are rights or duties but "moments" of feeling? Evidently, whether I help to advance humanity, or whether I let it alone, the obligation or the inducement is mere pleasure; the act has no ethical motive, the end is my own satisfaction, and the good I aim at is exactly the same in essence as that which any creature, endowed with sensation, might enjoy.

The whole range of ethics, another world indeed, which unfolds itself from the idea of duty, lies beyond this epicurean realm, with its pains and pleasures, its feelings and appetites, its desire of delight which at length is its only law. Neither egoism nor altruism can furnish aught but the matter of moral good; spirit and inward make are not utilitarian. Mr. Spencer combines the selfishness of the individual with the selfishness of the race, and argues that their union is morality. Both the race and the individual, we reply with St. Thomas, are under an eternal law, which is the Divine essence, or the "nature of things" itself; and according to that law "right" is antecedent to all experience of the tribe and the man: it regulates selfishness and is not regulated by it, and to deduce it from the agreeable or the advantageous will be just the same as putting effects for causes and inverting the order of the world. When duty has become self-indulgence it will have passed into its contrary, and so perished.

WILLIAM BARRY.

---

**La Vierge Marie :** Histoire de la Mère de Dieu d'après la Révélation et les révélations. Par Mgr. RICARD, prélat de la maison de Sa Sainteté. 8vo, pp. 300. (Illus.) Paris : Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie., 56 Rue Jacob.

IN this work Mgr. Ricard gives us a devout and ably written history of the life of our Blessed Lady. Although we are in possession of many beautiful histories of God's holy Mother, composed by the most excellent Catholic writers, yet the pious reader will find in the present volume many fresh and pious reflections. The actual history of the Blessed Virgin is preceded by a few highly interesting and instructive chapters. They contain a learned interpretation of the Old Testament prophecies announcing the coming Redeemer and His mother, a short and pleasing narrative of the holy women who have always been considered as types of the Blessed Virgin, and a most useful explanation of those emblematic names by which Catholics are wont to call her. The volume, therefore, recommends itself not only for pious reading but also for instruction and meditation. The work of the publisher is quite in keeping with that of the writer, for the volume is beautifully printed, its paper is excellent, and it is illustrated with thirty-seven very fine engravings.

---

**The Ceremonies of Ordination with the Ceremonies of the Masses, Private and Solemn, in which Orders are Conferred.** By Rev. PATRICK O'LEARY, Dean, Maynooth College. 8vo, pp. 236. Dublin : Browne and Nolan.

**T**HIS little volume is the most comprehensive handbook of the Rite of Ordination and its attendant ceremonies which has been published in these countries. It has been compiled by the Dean of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, mainly for the use of the ordinands, the assistants, and the choir of that college, but it will be found useful in all ecclesiastical colleges. The subject is treated most fully and in a most satisfactory manner, Martinucci, the latest and perhaps the best Roman ceremonialist, being copied most accurately. However, the author, considering Martinucci defective on some points, has supplied the defects from De Herdt, Vavasseur, and other authorities. The book has been revised by the Right Rev. Monsignor Browne, President of St. Patrick's College, and bears the imprimatur of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

---

**The Catholic Doctrine of Faith and Morals, gathered from Sacred Scripture, Decrees of Councils, and approved Catechisms.** 8vo, pp. 429. By Very Rev. WILLIAM BYRNE, D.D., Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Boston. Boston : Cashman, Keating & Co.

**T**HIS is a valuable sequel to, or substitute for, Bossuet's "L'Exposition de la Doctrine Catholique," Cardinal Gibbons's "Faith of Our Fathers," or Father Faa Di Bruno's "Catholic Belief." The author covers ground already traversed by his illustrious predecessors in a manner entirely different and yet very effectively. His book will serve priests as a ready manual for short catechetical instructions, and is most suitable to place in the hands of sincere Protestants who are seeking to know what Catholics really believe. The author has received commendatory letters from several of the hierarchy of the United States, including his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, who writes :

Your book on "Catholic Doctrine," though unpretentious in size, is comprehensive in scope, embracing as it does the creeds and sacraments of the Church, and the moral law. Besides the valuable information it gives to the general reader, it will serve as a commentary on the Catechism, and will prove a useful *vade mecum* to Sunday-school and other teachers who are engaged in instructing our Catholic youth.

---

**Instructions et Conseils aux Filles domestiques, et à tous les domestiques en général.** Par l'Abbé C. J. BUSSON. 3<sup>me</sup> Édition. 8vo, pp. 496. Paris : Gaume et Cie. 1893.

THIS is a very useful treatise for any one who has the spiritual care of servants, or for communities such as sisters of mercy or of charity, who have to give instructions to girls about to enter service.

The order of the book is good, but the different points are in some cases too long drawn out for our English notions; however, with culling this could easily be rectified. If we say that the author had probably taken Lewis of Granada's "Memorial," and arranged it to suit his purpose, perhaps no greater praise could be given. The book is replete with examples of those who have attained high perfection in the position of domestic service, the author well says there is no better way of instructing than by a trite example. I fear, however, the example he has set would be too high, spiritually, for many of our domestics.

The book is the outcome of the directorship of a confraternity especially for servants. Have we this confraternity in England? The Sisters of Mercy and of Charity, those of the most Holy Cross and Passion, and many other religious bodies take great interest in servants. The spirit of the arch-confraternity called des Filles de l'accomptoir is contained in this book; it might with advantage be studied, and if possible the confraternity adopted in some of our larger centres where Catholic servants are numerous.

The Abbé Busson has an ideal of the value of service as a means of sanctification, he has also an ideal of the position of master and mistress. I wonder how often the following is realised even in Catholic homes. Speaking about young people going to service, he says: "Vous trouvez chez des maîtres honnêtes gens et Chrétiens des conseillers, des guides, des surveillants, and des pères. Leur devoir est de veiller sur votre conduite, de s'enquérir de vos démarches, de connaître quelles sont vos liaisons, vos amies, vos connaissances, de vous détourner du mal par la voie de la persuasion et par celle de l'autorité quand il le faut," &c., &c.

Is this the idea of the register offices? Might we not in some things that have reference to soul-saving sigh for the feudal times?

G. R.

**The Book of Enoch.** Translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text. Emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollected Ethiopic MSS., &c., and edited, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by R. H. Charles, M.A. 8vo, pp. 275. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1893.

**F**OREMOST in interest and importance among pre-Christian apocryphal writings is the somewhat miscellaneous collection of apocalyptic pieces, of diverse authorship, which in the second and first centuries B.C. gathered itself about the name of Enoch, and which, besides being once quoted by St. Jude, received some measure of recognition by the earlier fathers of the Church, until in the fourth and fifth centuries it was finally proscribed as spurious.

Until the later years of the eighteenth century, "Enoch" was known only through certain fragments, extending from ch. vi. to ch. xvi., which had been preserved in the *Chronographia* of George Syncellus (circ. A.D. 800), and through a few meagre quotations and allusions in earlier writers; and to this day no complete MS. of the Greek text of "Enoch" (itself a translation from the Hebrew) is known to exist. But in the Ethiopic Church it would seem that "Enoch" has from early times been regarded as canonical, or at any rate has always been held in high esteem; thence it has come about that the book has been preserved entire in many Ethiopic MSS. The Ethiopic version was first brought to light by the traveller Bruce, who in 1773 brought three MSS. of it to England. From one of these Lawrence made his translation in 1821. Lawrence's version, however, and a German translation by Hoffmann (1838), were superseded by that of Dillmann, which appeared in 1851, and which is described by Mr. Charles as "an almost perfect translation" of the text which the great Ethiopic scholar had at his disposal. Unfortunately, this text, which was based on a collection of five MSS., was in very many places extremely corrupt, and the best thanks of Biblical students are due to Mr. Charles for his laborious and successful efforts to turn to good account the documentary materials which have been made accessible since the appearance of Dillmann's translation. These fresh materials consist chiefly of eleven Ethiopic MSS., of which ten are in the British Museum, the greater number of them having formed part of the spoils brought to this country by the Magdala Expedition of 1867-8. Of all these British Museum MSS. Mr. Charles has made use, and of the two most important of them he has made a full collection. The result of his labours is shown in his critical notes, which embody more than 600 corrections of Dillmann's text and translation; and it is a satisfaction to be able to record that with many of these corrections, put forward by way of speci-

men in a preliminary paper (*Academy*, November 26, 1892), Dillmann has expressed his full concurrence. Moreover, a considerable number of Mr. Charles's emendations of Dillmann's text has received confirmation from a quite different quarter. While his book was passing through the press, and, indeed, after the greater part of it was already in type, M. Bouriart published a complete Greek text of ch. i.-xxxii., which had been discovered at Akhmim, together with the now famous fragment of the Gospel of Peter, in 1886. The text Mr. Charles has fortunately been able to reproduce in an appendix, and it has not only confirmed, as has been said, many of his previous emendations, but it has suggested a large number of additional changes, which, in a second edition, will be promoted from their present obscure position in the notes on an appendix to their proper place in the body of the work.

We will not weary the reader with an analysis of the contents of "Enoch," or with a discussion of the probable dates of its several parts. It may be enough to mention that the book consists of a series of revelations and visions supposed to have been granted to the personage whose name it bears, and professing to relate, *inter alia*, the history of the fall of the angels, and to convey a good deal of instruction, ethical and physical, and a large measure of prophecy, chiefly Messianic and eschatological. To the ordinary student the chief interest of "Enoch" will probably be in its very numerous anticipations of New Testament phraseology. To specify only a few of the more striking instances of parallels with the language of the Gospels (Charles, pp. 48-49), we find "the generation of light" (En. cviii. 11, cf. Lu. xvi. 8, "Sons of Light"); "mansions of the righteous" (En. xxxix. 4, cf. Jo. xiv. 2, "many mansions"); "He will put down the kings from their thrones" (En. xlvi. 5, cf. Lu. i. 52); "Mammon of unrighteousness" (En. lxiii. 10, cf. Lu. xvi. 9); "When they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory" (En. lxii. 5, cf. Matt. xix. 28); "It had been good for them if they had not been born" (En. xxxviii. 2, cf. Matt. xxvi. 25).

Very interesting is Mr. Charles's discussion of the origin and meaning of the phrase, "the Son of Man," of the use of which "Enoch" (*passim*) supplies an example intermediate between Dan. vii. and the Gospels, and shows that the expression already formed a part of the accepted Christology when our Lord took it up and adopted it. Mr. Charles fully recognises that "the title, 'the Son of Man,' in 'Enoch' was undoubtedly derived from Dan. vii.;" but we think that he exaggerates somewhat when he says that "a whole world of thought lies between the suggestive words in Daniel and the definite rounded conception as it appears in 'Enoch'" (pp. 314, 315). Instead

of laying stress on the contrast between the indefinite form in Daniel ("a Son of Man") and the "perfectly definite and distinctive title" in "Enoch," it would, we think, have been wiser to recognise the fact (as we believe it to be) that the definite title in Enoch bears witness to the current and correct interpretation of the Danielic prophecy. With what follows, however, we entirely agree, and with this quotation we may fitly close our very imperfect notice of this noble monument of English scholarship :

This title, with its supernatural (? divine) attributes of superhuman glory, of universal dominion and supreme judicial powers [as described in "Enoch"] was adopted by our Lord. The Son of Man has come down from heaven, S. John iii. 13 (cf. En. xlviii. 2); He is Lord of the Sabbath, S. Matt. xii. 8; can forgive sins, S. Matt. ix. 6; and all judgment is committed unto Him, S. John v. 22, 27 (cf. En. lxix. 27). But while retaining its supernatural associations, this title underwent transformation in our Lord's use of it—a transformation that all Pharisaic ideas, so far as He adopted them, likewise underwent. And just as His kingdom in general formed a standing protest against the prevailing Messianic ideas of temporal glory and dominion, so the title "the Son of Man" assumed a deeper spiritual significance; and this change we shall best apprehend if we introduce into the Enoch conception of the Son of Man the Isaiah conception of the Servant of Jehovah. *These two conceptions, though outwardly antithetic, are through the transformation of the former reconciled and fulfilled in a deeper unity—in the New Testament Son of Man.* . . . . He that was greatest was likewise servant of all. This transformed conception of the Son of Man is thus permeated throughout by the Isaiah conception of the Servant of Jehovah; but though the Enochic conception is fundamentally transformed, the transcendent claims underlying it are not for a moment foregone. . . . We can [thus] understand how on the one hand the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head (S. Matt. viii. 20); and yet be Lord of the Sabbath (S. Matt. xiii. 8); how He is to be despised and rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be put to death (S. Luke ix. 22), and yet be the Judge of all mankind (S. John v. 27). . . . In S. John xii. 34 it is just the strangeness of this *new* conception of this current phrase of a Messiah who was to suffer death that makes the people ask, "Who is this Son of Man?" We have heard of the law that the Christ abideth for ever" (pp. 315-317).

---

**L'Argument de Saint Anselme; Étude philosophique par le Père Ragey, Mariste.** 8vo, pp. 201. Delhomme et Briguët, Editeurs. Paris: 13 Rue de l'Abbaye. Lyon: 3 Avenue de l'Archevêché.

**F**ATHER RAGEY, who has already written much on St. Anselm, undertakes now to explain in its true light the famous argument for the existence of God which was invented by the saint, and bears his name. Our author is of opinion that it is high time that the argument should be explained, inasmuch as it has been misinterpreted from St. Anselm's day down to our own times. The one to whom the

misinterpretation is chiefly to be charged is, it appears, St. Thomas Aquinas :

Many think [says Father Ragey] that this question has been settled long ago, and that to understand the argument of St. Anselm, there is no need to study the Proslogion, and the subtle objections of Gaunilo, and the answer of St. Anselm, but that all that is required is to read three lines of the "Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas. St. Thomas has formulated in these three lines an objection, which is the very argument of St. Anselm reduced to its simplest expression. In three other lines he refuted this objection. And thus, by reading six very clear lines of St. Thomas, we learn what St. Anselm's argument is and what it is worth."

So think the many, but Father Ragey thinks otherwise. And while standing aloof from the crowd, he does not stand entirely alone. He is able to quote in support of his contention a certain M. Bouchitté, who does not hesitate to say, "Thomas, Duns Scotus, Gerson, and the majority of the scholastics proved that they did not understand the argument of St. Anselm," and also the authority of Leibnitz, who, however, whether through lack of knowledge or through lack of courage, speaks somewhat less resolutely than M. Bouchitté. After assigning the *a priori* argument to St. Anselm, and stating that it had received the attention of the scholastic writers, Leibnitz goes on to say, "Quamquam mihi Thomas de eo non satis accurate judicare videatur." St. Thomas has thus been the chief offender, but St. Anselm's argument has also had to suffer, according to our author, from its injudicious advocates of modern times. Father Ragey plays hare and hounds with these injudicious advocates. In his preface he states that St. Anselm's argument is "un argument que Descartes, Leibnitz, Fénelon, et Malebranche ont adopté, remanié et défendu avec passion." On page 133 of his book he writes, "Quand on étudie la marche suivie par le Père Kleutgen dans la réfutation de cet argument on s'aperçoit, à ne pouvoir en douter, qu'il ne l'a étudié que dans ses partisans modernes, Descartes, Leibnitz, Fénelon, Malebranche, sans s'être reporté aux vraies sources." Now, either Descartes, Leibnitz, Fénelon, and Malebranche adopted and defended St. Anselm's argument, as the author states in his preface, or they did not. If they did, then Kleutgen, in refuting the argument of Descartes, &c., was refuting the argument of St. Anselm. If they did not, then Father Ragey is not entitled to appeal, as he does, to the reputation of these philosophers in support of the argument.

However, Father Ragey is of opinion that St. Anselm's reasoning has been universally and persistently misrepresented, and that justice will not be done to it until it is studied in the very words of St.

Anselm. It is to enable us so to study it that Father Ragey has written this little work.

**Le Problème Spiritualiste, l'Existence de l'Âme, Conférences adressées aux étudiants de Rennes.** Par L'ABBÉ H. CEILLIER, chanoine honoraire, professeur de Philosophie au Grand Séminaire. Delhomme et Briguët, 13 Rue de l'Abbaye, Paris. 8vo, p. 286.

IN eight conferences addressed to the students who were fortunate enough to possess so eloquent and able a professor, M. Ceillier discusses the existence of the soul. The first conference is introductory. The question under discussion is stated. "Is there in man a spiritual soul in the true sense of the word, that is to say, an intelligent substance, physically simple, distinct from the body, and independent of the body as to its existence?" After explaining the terms of the definition, the Professor proceeds to inquire whether it would be better to first establish the existence of the soul and then refute the materialistic arguments, or first demolish the arguments of the materialists and then vindicate the existence of the soul. While admitting that each plan has its advantages, our author finally decides to clear away the weeds before planting the good seed. Accordingly, the next three conferences are devoted to a refutation of materialism. The so-called axiom, "no force without matter," and the materialistic arguments based upon the relations between the brain and thought, the conservation of energy, the supposed obscurity of the spiritualistic theory, and the supposed simplicity of materialism are discussed and overthrown. The difficulties being thus removed, in the remaining conferences the proofs of a spiritual soul are presented and developed. The conferences are characterised throughout by lucidity of style, closeness of reasoning, and a thoroughly dispassionate treatment of the subject. Confident in the possession of the truth, M. Ceillier can afford to be more than fair to his opponents. Frequently he presents their difficulties in far greater force than they are commonly presented by the materialists themselves. Indeed he is seen to greater advantage in the destructive rather than the constructive portion of his work. We trust that M. Ceillier will treat us to many more booklets of this kind. If they be worthy successors to the present course of lectures, they will be useful to professors as well as to students and the ordinary reader.

**The Physical System of S. Thomas.** By Fr. GIOVANNI MARIA CORNOLDI, S.J., translated by EDWARD HENEAGE DERING. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1893. Pp. 228.

**A**S is well known, the scholastic was the philosophy universally taught in Catholic schools till the period of the so-called Reformation. During the times of unrest and disquiet which followed the outbreak of the Protestant schism the study of philosophy became to a great extent neglected. When society had to some extent recovered from the violent upheaval of the sixteenth century, and philosophy had resumed its position as an integral portion of the ordinary Catholic curriculum, the traditions of scholasticism had largely fallen into oblivion. Other systems, better suited, as was erroneously thought, to the circumstances and needs of the times, were substituted for the doctrines and methods of mediæval philosophy. And so system succeeded system until in our own day the teaching of S. Thomas was restored to its original supremacy by Leo XIII., happily reigning. But, even before the majestic encyclical which reinstated S. Thomas in his position of chief exponent of Christian philosophy had appeared, a small number of distinguished men, of whom the best known were Liberatore, Sanseverino, Kleutgen, and Cornoldi, were labouring earnestly to secure the restoration and the general acceptance of the philosophical doctrines of the Angelical doctor. When they first commenced to lecture and to write, the teaching of S. Thomas was outside of the great Dominican Order which had always remained loyal to its great preceptor, and had not only jealously guarded the best of his writings, but had also in a living and unbroken tradition preserved the sense and the spirit of his words, not only forgotten but also misrepresented and discredited even amongst Catholics. Such, however, was the success of their endeavours that the encyclical "*Æterni Patris*" was received on its publication not only in the spirit of obedience, but with intelligent appreciation and with joy by the whole Catholic world. The name of Cornoldi, as the name of a member of this band of gallant workers, is one that will be always held in honour by the advocates of sound philosophy. The book under notice is not, nowever, one that will greatly add to the fame of Fr. Cornoldi. Nevertheless it is in many respects a useful book. The student of philosophy may not find much in it that is new to him, but the general reader will peruse with profit the short and concisely worded chapters which set forth the doctrines of S. Thomas on such important subjects as matter, substantial form, nature, seminal causes, physical laws, motion, substantial transformation, &c. The

translation is occasionally a little stiff and too obviously a translation, but, when due allowance is made for the difficulty of throwing into English scholastic terms and modes of expression, the translation deserves to be reckoned, on the whole, a good one.

---

**Life of S. Edmund of Canterbury, from original sources.** By WILFRID WALLACE, D.D., M.A., LL.B., priest of the Order of St. Benedict, of the Beuron Congregation. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. 1893. 8vo, pp. 638.

NOW for the first time we have in English a Catholic life of S. Edmund. That a Saint who looms so largely in the history of this country should have been hitherto thus neglected is surely a reproach to English Catholic literature. Nevertheless, after reading the work which Dr. Wallace has just published, we feel strongly inclined to say, "*O felix culpa.*" We can afford to wait if we are to obtain complete satisfaction in the end; and had Lives of S. Edmund already appeared, perhaps Dr. Wallace would have never undertaken his task. Dr. Wallace informs us that, beyond the devotion to S. Edmund and love for his name, which he shares in common with every genuine son of S. Edmund's College, he had no special qualification for the office of writing the Saint's life, which his religious superior assigned to him. If this be the case, then we can only say, "*Vir obediens loquetur victorias,*" for the Life that Dr. Wallace has given us is the most perfect that we could conceive. It will always be the classical Life of S. Edmund.

The greater portion of the book is, very naturally, devoted to the career of S. Edmund as Archbishop. It was by no choice of his own that Edmund entered upon possession of the See of S. Thomas. The favourite domestic who hastened to his room to acquaint him with the news of his election received small thanks for his pains. "Be off, you booby, about your business," said Edmund, "and mind you shut the door so that no one may come to interrupt my studies." It was only when it was represented to him that his persistent refusal might lead to the election of one through whom the cause of religion might suffer, that the Saint reluctantly gave way. S. Edmund's pontificate was cast in stormy times. But he had an eye to see what the interests of the Church and the welfare of the kingdom demanded, and the courage to insist that it should be accomplished. He gave a proof of his mettle while he was still but Archbishop-elect. He presented a remonstrance to the King, in which he pointed out that Henry was guilty of the gravest injustice in establishing foreigners in the most important positions of the

State, and declared that he would excommunicate any one, no matter who he might be, that stood in the way of reform, or whose conduct was detrimental to the interests of the commonwealth. S. Edmund was the man needed for the time, but not even such a man as he could enter the conflict single-handed and come off the victor. And single-handed for the most part he undoubtedly was. King, barons, and secular power were all arrayed against him as he laboured for reform. But this, after all, was to be expected. The world is ever in opposition to the Church. But what was unexpected, what was the hardest blow of all and the crushing blow, was that he should receive rather hindrance than help from his spiritual brethren. During the six years in which he maintained the unequal conflict he was "persecuted by the bad, misrepresented by the good, supported hardly by any, even of those who were bound by their sacred office to support him." Even the papal legate, Otho, time after time threw all his influence into the scale against him. Finding himself hindered on every side from exercising his pastoral office in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, S. Edmund at length determined to abandon the hopeless struggle, and retired to the Monastery at Pontigny. There, during the few weeks of life which still remained to him, the Saint "abandoned himself without reserve to the unwonted luxury of a life of prayer, recollection, and contemplation undisturbed by external solitudes," while his austerities "put the cowed monks to the blush, though they followed the strict Cistercian rule." But for the account of his glorious conflict, and of the days of his exile which his love of justice and hatred of iniquity had brought upon him we refer our readers to Dr. Wallace's *Life*. Truly it is a *Life* in a higher than the conventional sense of the term, for it makes the Saint to *live* before our eyes, so graphic it is and so sympathetic. We have been much tempted to quote passages from Dr. Wallace's work—passages which display the writer's large historical reading, or his critical sagacity, or his power of description. But why quote from a book which we trust and believe will soon be in the hands of all?

---

## Reviews in Brief.

---

**The Life of St. Charles Borromeo.** Edited by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.—A reprint of a popular "Life" of the holy Cardinal of Milan. It is an admirably written volume. We should have been glad, however, to see a few additions; for example, a few more details concerning St. Charles's relations with this country, and with her confessors and martyrs, and a description of his tomb and incorrupt body.

**The Life of St. Dominic.** With a Sketch of the Dominican Order. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates.—This is the well-known Life of St. Dominic published many years ago by the writer who, recently, has written the memoirs of the holy Patriarch on a much more ample scale. The re-issue is called a "second edition;" but, for all that we can see, it is a mere reprint, leaving untouched one or two mistakes which the author has corrected in the longer Life. We cannot be wrong in saying that it has been issued without her sanction. Still, it is an acceptable book, and will be preferred by many to the more ambitious biography.

**The Seven Cities of the Dead, and other Poems.** By Sir JOHN CROKER BARROW. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1893.—Sir John Barrow, gifted, as he has already shown, with the power of expressing lofty and earnest thought in melodious verse, has ventured, not unworthily, on a solemn theme. The Seven Cities of the Dead are the divisions of a sevenfold purgatory, apportioned to the purification of souls from the guilt of the Deadly Sins, visited in a dream and described in vivid, poetic diction. Among the shorter pieces, the sonnets to Pope Leo XIII., to Cardinal Newman, and to Cardinal Manning and his successor are the most interesting and graceful.

**Poems: Dramatic and Democratic.** By GASCOIGNE MACKIE. London: Elliott Stock. 1893.—These poems are very unequal in diction, and the introduction of a line of conversational commonplace occasionally jars on the ear in the midst of the author's most ambitious flights. He seems to us at his best in his simpler lyrics, such as "The Sand Flower" or "A Falling Star," rather than in more pretentious monologues in blank verse, or in the much-abused metre of "Locksley Hall."

**Le Comtesse de Chambrun. Ses Poesies.** Paris: Calmann Levy. 1893.—In this elegant volume Madame de Chambrun's graceful lyrics are prefaced by an interesting memoir of that good and gifted lady. The lines on the passion-flower are the best known of those she has written, for they have not only been translated into several languages, but have served as an inspiration for the musical genius both of Gounod and of Ambroise Thomas, whose settings of them are reproduced in this work. Among the illustrations which add to its interest is a beautiful reproduction in photogravure of Raphael's Madonna del Gran Duca, a masterpiece especially dear to the artistic Countess.

**God's Birds.** By JOHN PRIESTMAN. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.—This interesting volume condenses the result of much study and erudition into a series of short monographs on the various birds alluded to in the Old and New Testaments, with sketches of their habits and characteristics illustrative of the Scriptural context. The "fowls of the air" are a frequent subject of metaphor and figurative allusion in the Bible narrative, and a work like the one before us, which gives added vitality to these passages, should have a fascination for readers of all ages, over and above its useful purpose in elucidating their meaning.

**"Tolerari potest."** De juridico valore Decreti Tolerantiae commentarius, auctore NICOLAS NILLES, S.J. Ceniponte. Typis et sumptibus Fel. Rauch (C. Pustet). 1893. Pp. 64.—This compendious but very able treatise is divided into three parts. In the first part the author inquires upon the precise significance of tolerance, in the second he explains the nature and force of the "decretum tolerantiae," and in the third he sets forth some authentic rules formulated by Canon Law for the right understanding of the decree of tolerance. The author adduces many instances of tolerances from ancient and modern times, and, as might be expected, gives due prominence to the "decretum tolerantiae" published during the recent school controversy in America.

**Le Mystère de N. S. Jésus-Christ.** Par Le R. P. J. CORNE, Oblat de Marie Immaculée, Supérieur du Grand Séminaire de Fréjus. Delhomme et Briguët, Éditeurs. Paris: 13 Rue de l'Abbaye. Lyon: 3 Avenue de l'Archevêché. Pp. 903.—This is the first instalment of a work in five volumes projected by the author. What has thus far appeared has met with very warm approval from the Bishop of Fréjus, who declares in a letter, which is prefixed to the first volume, that the author's book reminds him at once of the magnificent work of Mgr. Bougaud, "*Le Christianisme et les temps*

présent," the profound meditations of Mgr. Gay, and the pious reflections of Coleridge in his "*Vita vitæ nostræ*." Certainly, from the point of view of devotion Fr. Corne's treatise leaves nothing to be desired. It abounds in pious reflections and ejaculations. But we are not quite so well assured of its depth and solidity, and there can be no question that the author would do well to cultivate a little more the art of compression. What is said here in nine hundred pages might very well have been said in one-fourth of that space.

**L'Esprit Humain.** C. GREPPO. Paris: Libraires-Imprimeries Réunies, 2 Rue Mignon. 1893. Pp. 72.—We have read some wearisome books in our time, but none so wearisome as this. Macaulay illustrates with an amusing anecdote the utter dreariness of Guicciardini's History. But Guicciardini becomes "Pickwick" when compared with "*L'Esprit Humain*." The chief characteristic of the author's style is his faculty for the multiplication of words which lead nowhither. The matter of the book, so far as we can form an estimate of it, consists in great part of an elaborate trifling with religion and philosophy, apparently conducted, however, in all seriousness by the author.

**Index Rationum ac Doctrinarum quæ ex aliis operibus desumuntur Auctoris:** "A Discussion with an Infidel" hujus inventa apprimè confirmantium. Londoni: "Art and Book Company" et Leamingtoniæ. Neo-Eboraci, &c.: Benziger Fratres. 1892. Pp. 46.—There are some things in this pamphlet—*e.g.*, the author's views on the production of the bestial soul—which we consider both unscholastic and untenable. Nevertheless, the pamphlet contains much that is sound and useful. The author has a happy knack of compressing many thoughts into few words. But, to our sorrow, his printer has been stimulated into an unhappy spirit of emulation, and has endeavoured, only too successfully, to compress many words into very little space. Such type as that employed in the "*Index Rationum*" destroys the sight of youth and scoffs at the sight of age.

**An Explanation of the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass in Familiar Discourses addressed to a Congregation.** By Rev. E. B. GLOVER, O.S.B. London and Leamington: The Art and Book Co.—An admirable little work of 133 pp., costing only sixpence, which should be placed in the hands of uninstructed Catholics, and of non-Catholics instructed in many things, but wholly ignorant of the beauty and holiness of Catholic worship.

## Books Received.

---

- Life of Dr. O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel.** By Dean Kinane, P.P.V.G. 8vo, pp. 108. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.
- Rome et Ses Monuments.** Chanoine de Bleser. 8vo, 535-165. Maps. Louvain: Ch. Fonteyn.
- Siege of Derry.** Rev. Philip Dwyer. 8vo, pp. 254. London: Elliot Stock.
- Hermengild, or Two Crowns: a Tragedy.** By Rev. J. Oechtering. 8vo, pp. 60. Nôtre Dame, Indiana. 25c.
- La Visitation au XVII<sup>ème</sup>. Siècle.** Naples, 1680-1694. 8vo, pp. 27. Paris: Firmin Didot.
- L'Evangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre.** Par Adolphe Lods. 8vo, pp. 118. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- The Founders of Old Testament Criticism.** T. K. Cheyne, D.D. 8vo, pp. 372. London: Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d.
- French Jansenists.** 8vo, pp. 256. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- British History and Papal Claims.** Rev. Jas. Paton. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 505-589. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- The Merry Month and other Pieces.** Henry B. Baildon. 8vo, pp. 203. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Selections from Swift.** By H. Craik. Vol. ii. 8vo, pp. 488. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ben Johnson.** Edited by B. Nicholson, M.D. 8vo, pp. 382. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Mr. Gladstone: "A Life Misspent."** London: Simpkin & Co. 8vo, pp. 283.
- Life of Mère Marie Thérèse.** 8vo, pp. 302. London: Burns & Oates.
- John Wycliff.** By Lewis Sergeant. 8vo, pp. 371. London: G. Putnam's Sons.

- Manual of the Holy Family.** Rev. B. Hammer, O.S.F. 12mo, pp. 524. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- Parochi Vade-mecum.** 12mo, pp. 60. London & Leamington: Art & Book Co.
- Spiritual Combat and Peace of the Soul.** 12mo, pp. 180. London & Leamington: Art & Book Co.
- Thomas Cranmer.** J. R. Willington, M.A. Pp. 44. London & Leamington: Art & Book Co.
- The Flight into Egypt.** George Richardson. London: Burns & Oates.
- Imitation of Christ.** 12mo, pp. 323. London & Leamington: Art & Book Co.
- Manuale Sacerdotum.** P. Jos. Schneider. 13<sup>a</sup> editio. Curâ A. Lehmkuhl. 12mo, pp. 658. Cologne: J. P. Bachem.
- Godfrey, the Little Hermit, and other Tales.** Canon Schmid. 8vo, pp. 310. London & Leamington: Art & Book Co.
- The Hidden Treasure.** St. Leonard, of Port Maurice. 12mo pp. 56. Art & Book Co.
- Apples Ripe and Rosy, Sir.** Mary C. Crowley. 8vo, pp. 256. Nôtre Dame, Ind.
- Witness of the Saints.** Rev. H. S. Bowden. 8vo, pp. 94. London: Burns & Oates.
- Life Everlasting.** The Bishop of Newport & Menevia. 8vo, pp. 26. London: Art & Book Co.
- Religious Problems of the Nineteenth Century.** By Aubrey de Vere. 8vo, pp. 232. London: St. Anselm's Society.
- The Primer of Church Latin.** By R. F. Conder, B.A. 8vo, pp. 111. London: Burns & Oates.
- The Life of Augustus H. Law, S.J.** By Ellis Schreiber. 8vo, pp. 381. London: Burns & Oates.
- Five o'Clock Stories.** 8vo, pp. 318. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Bros.
- National Railways.** By James Hole. 8vo, pp. 385. London: Cassell & Co.
- The Two Countesses.** By Maria Ebner Von Escherbach. Translated by Mrs. Waugh. 8vo, pp. 190. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

- Memorials of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis.** By Edward Bellasis. 8vo, pp. 211. London: Burns & Oates. 10s. 6d.
- Tennyson's Life and Poetry.** By Eugene Parsons. pp. 30. Chicago. 2nd Edition. 1s.
- Jean Bréhal, Grand Inquisiteur de la France, et la réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc.** Par le R. P. Belon et le R. P. Balme. Grand 8vo, pp. 152-208-188. Paris: Lethielleux et Cie. 15frs.
- La Question Ouvrière.** Par L'Abbé Feret. 8vo, pp. 382. Paris: Lethielleux. 7frs. 50c.
- El Nuevo Mondo: a Poem.** By Louis J. Block. 8vo, pp. 95. Chicago: Cl. Kerr & Co.
- Inspiration, and other Lectures.** By F. Rooke. 8vo, pp. 261. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- The Life of Father Charles.** Rev. Fr. Austen, C.P. 8vo, pp. 229. Dublin: Lealy, Bryers & Walker. London: Simpkin & Marshall.
- La Vénérable Mère Julienne Morell.** Par le R. P. Matthieu J. Rousset, O.P. 8vo, pp. 304. Paris: Delhomme et Briguet.
- Avis et Réflexions sur les devoirs de l'état religieux.** Par un religieux Bénédictin. 8vo, pp. 308. Paris: Hippolyte Walzer.
- La dévotion au Sacré Cœur de Jésus.** Par C. R. P. Terrien, S.J. 8vo, pp. 375. Paris: Lethielleux.
- La Confession.** Rev. P. Félix, S.J. 2me édition. 8vo, pp. 330. Paris: Téqui.
- Le Pape, les Catholiques, et la Question Sociale.** Par Leon Grégoire. 8vo, pp. 264. Paris: Perrin et Cie.
- Le Comte Joseph de Maistre et sa famille.** Par M. de l'Escure. 8vo, pp. 442. Paris: H. Chapelliez et Cie.
- History of Elections in the American Colonies.** By C. F. Bishop. 8vo, pp. 295. New York: Columbia College.
- The Financial History of Virginia.** By W. Z. Ripley. 8vo, pp. 170. New York: Columbia College.
- The Inheritance Tax.** By Max West. 8vo, pp. 140. New York: Columbia College.
- La Population.** Edouard Van der Smissen. 8vo, pp. 561. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie.

- L'Âme Sainte.** D. Gabriel-Marie Falconis, traduit par M. l'Abbé Fourot. 3me édition. 8vo. pp. 722. Montreuil-sur-Mer : Imprimerie Nôtre Dame du Près.
- Entrétiens de Jésus Christ avec l'Âme Fidele.** J. J. Lansperge. 8vo, pp. 250. Nouvelle édition. Montreuil-sur-Mer : Imp. Nôtre Dame du Près.
- Dieu y pourvoira.** Large 8vo, pp. 260. Grammont, Lille : Librairie de St. Charles.
- Le Courage Chrétien.** Large 8vo, pp. 276. Grammont, Lille : Librairie de St. Charles.
- Histoire du bon Larron.** Mgr. Gaume. 8vo, pp. 296. Paris : P. Gaume et Cie.
- Les Joies du Pardon.** Large 8vo, pp. 258. Grammont : Œuvre de St. Charles Borromée.
- Les Femmes Chrétiennes.** 8vo, pp. 252. Montreuil-sur-Mer : Imprimerie Nôtre Dame du Près.
- Les Vièrges Chrétiennes.** 8vo, pp. 275. Montreuil-sur-Mer : Imprimerie Nôtre Dame du Près.
- Les Héros Chrétiens.** 8vo. pp. 232. Montreuil-sur-Mer : Imprimerie Nôtre Dame du Près.
- Les Recréations Poétiques.** C. R. P. Marc. 8vo, pp. 128. Paris : Delhomme et Briguët.
- Le Cardinal Manning et son Action Sociale.** Par l'Abbé Jemire. 8vo, pp. 286. Paris : Victor Lecoffre.
- Diocesan Seminaries.** Rev F. A. Bourne. 8vo, pp. 66. London : Burns & Oates.
- Le Zèle Sacerdotale.** C. R. P. de Laage, S.J. 8vo, pp. 240. Paris : Téqui.
- Special Assessments.** Victor Rosewater. 8vo. pp. 152. New York : Columbia College.
- Méditations sur les Sept Paroles de N. S. Jésus Christ en Croix.** L'Abbé Charles Perraud. 8vo. pp. 276. Paris : H. Chapellier.
- An Architect in Exile.** B. Whelan. 8vo, pp. 110. London : Burns & Oates.
- Le Paradis terrestre et la Race Nègre devant la Science.** L'Abbé Dessailly. 8vo, pp. 320. Paris : Delhomme et Briguët.
- Vie de P. Ludovic de Cassoria.** L'Abbé M. Le Monnier. 8vo, pp. 267. Paris : Perren et Cie.

**Direction de Conscience.** Traduit de l'Italien par l'Abbé Gautier. 8vo, pp. 174. Paris : Téqui.

**Vie de Sainte Claire de la Croix.** Lorenza Tardi. 8vo, pp. 279. Paris : Téqui.

**The Economics of a Russian Village.** Isaac Hourwich. 8vo, pp. 172. New York : Columbia College.

**Le Duc de Lauzun et la Cour intime de Louis XV.** Gaston Maugras. 8vo, pp. 463. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

**Hunolt's Sermons.** Vols. IX. and X. 8vo, pp. 483-536. London : Burns & Oates ; New York : Benziger Bros.

**Modern Errors against the Destiny of Man and Papal Infallibility.** Rev L. J. Miller. 8vo, pp. 399. Indiana, South Bend : Tribune Printing Co.

**Studi de Scienza Sociale.** Antonio Mollière, traduit da Guiseppe Pira. 8vo, pp. 680. Torens : Marietti.

**Prison Life of Marie Antoinette.** By M. C. Bishop. 8vo, pp. 312. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.

## NEW FOREIGN WORKS

ON SALE BY

BURNS &amp; OATES, LIMITED,

5 ORCHARD STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE, LONDON, W.

Mémoires de JOSEPH GRANDET,

Prêtre de Saint-Sulpice.

Histoire du Séminaire d'Angers Depuis sa fondation, en 1659, jusqu'à son union avec Saint-Sulpice. Avec 4 portraits et 8 dessins. 2 vols., 8vo, 15s.

Ouvrages du R. P. FELIX, S.J. Le Socialisme devant la Société. 8vo, 4s.

Christianisme et Socialisme. 8vo. 4s. Le Charlatanisme Social.

8vo, 4s.

Littérature (H., S.J.). Nomenclator Literarius Recentioris Theslogiæ Catholicæ.

Editio altera plurimum aucta et emendata. 8vo, Vol. I. 12s., Vol. II. 18s.

## BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ECOLES FRANÇAISES D'ATHÈNES ET DE ROME.

1<sup>re</sup> série. Format in-8 cavalier :

FASCICULE LVI : Les manuscrits de Dante, et de ses commentateurs, traducteurs, biographes, etc., conservés dans les Bibliothèques de France. Essai d'un catalogue raisonné, par L. AUVRAY (avec deux planches en héliogravure). 6s.

FASCICULE LVII : L'orateur Lycurgue. Etude historique et littéraire par M. FELIX DÜRRBACH. 4s.

FASCICULE LVIII : Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose, par ERNEST LANGLOIS. 5s.

FASCICULE LIX : Essai sur l'administration du Royaume de Sicile, sous Charles I<sup>er</sup> et Charles II d'Anjou, par LÉON CADIER. 8s.

FASCICULE LX : Elatée, la ville, le Temple d'Athéna Cranaia, par PIERRE PARIS (avec nombreuses figures dans le texte, et 15 belles planches hors texte en héliogravure ou gravées). 14s.

FASCICULE LXI : Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485 ; tirés des Archives de Venise, par HIPPOLYTE NOIRET (avec une carte de l'île de Crète, une liste des ducs, etc.). 15s.

FASCICULE LXII : Etude sur le Liber censuum de l'Eglise romaine, par PAUL FABRE. 7s.

FASCICULE LXIII : La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades (687-546), par GEORGES RADET (avec une grande carte colorée hors texte).

## BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ECOLES FRANÇAISES D'ATHÈNES ET DE ROME.

2<sup>e</sup> série. Format gr. in-4 raisin :

- **Le Liber pontificalis** ; texte, introduction et commentaire, par M. l'Abbé L. DUCHESNE, membre de l'Institut. 2 vol. gr. in-4°. £8.  
Il ne reste plus qu'un nombre peu élevé d'exemplaires lesquels ne se vendent qu'avec la collection complète (2 série) de la *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*.
- **Les Registres de Boniface VIII.**, recueil des Bulles de ce pape, publiées ou analysées d'après les archives du Vatican. Par MM. G. DIGARD, M. FAUCON et A. THOMAS. Fascicule VI., 9s. Fascicule I., II., III. et VI., £2 5s. Fascicule V. in the press.
- **Les Registres de Nicolas IV.** Par M. ERNEST LANGLOIS. Fascicules VI., VII., VIII. and IX. £2 16s.
- **Les Registres d'Urbain IV.** (1261—1264.) Par MM. L. DOREZ et J. GUIRAUD, membres de l'Ecole française de Rome. L'ouvrage entier formera environ 160 à 180 feuilles. Le 1<sup>er</sup> fascicule est en vente. Prix. 8 fr. 40.
- **Les Registres de Clement IV.** (1265—1268.) Par M. EDOUARD JOURDAN. L'ouvrage entier se composera de 70 feuilles environ. Le premier fascicule est en vente. Prix: 8 fr. 40.

## ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES-LETTRES.

**Les Registres d'Innocent IV.** Par M. ELIE BERGER. Tomes I et II et Fascicule I. du Tome III., grand in-4 raisin. £4 10s.

**Rossi (G. B. de).—Mélanges G. B. de Rossi.** Recueil de travaux publiés par l'Ecole française de Rome en l'honneur de M. le commandeur Giov-Batt. de Rossi. 1 vol. gr. in-8. (384 pages et 5 planches.) 15s.

N.B.—Ce volume sert d'annexe ou de supplément à l'année 1892 (tome XII. des *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*).

**Samouillan** (l'Abbé Alexandre), directeur au Petit Séminaire de Toulouse, docteur-ès-lettres.—**Olivier Maillard**, sa prédication et son temps. 1 vol. 8vo. 7s.

**La Population**, les causes de ses progrès et les obstacles, qui en arrêtent l'essor. Par EDOUARD VAN DER SMISSEN. "Ouvrage couronné." 8vo, 561 pp., 8s.

**L'Ami du Pretre.** Entretiens sur la dignité, les devoirs, et les consolations du sacerdoce. Par l'Abbé ROUZARD. 12mo, 3s.

**Philosophie de Saint Thomas.** Les Passions et la Volonté. Par M. J. GARDAIR, Professeur libre de la Philosophie. 12mo, 3s. 6d.

**Billot (Lud., S.J.).** De Deo Uno et Trino commentarius in primam partem S. Thomæ. Tomus Primus, complectens quæstiones de Unitate Essentia. Romæ, 1893. 8vo. 4s.

**Histoire de Mon Temps.** Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier publiés par M. LE DUC D'AUDIFFRET-PASQUIER. Première Partie : Revolution.—Consulat.—Empire. Tome Premier 1789—1810. Portraits en héliogravure. 8vo, 8s.

**Entretiens sur l'histoire du moyen age**, par JULES ZELLER. 16mo, 3s. 6d.

**Président Hainault et Mme. du Deffand**, la cour du Régent, la cour de Louis XV. et de Marie Leczinska, par LUCIEN PERCY. 8vo, 7s. 6d.

**Mémoires inédits de Bertrand Poirier de Beauvais**, commandant général de l'artillerie de la Vendée, publiés par la COMTESSE DE LA BOUÈRE. 8vo, 7s. 6d.

**Œuvres d'histoire**, par le VICOMTE MELCHIOR DE VOGÜE. 18mo, 3s. 6d.

**Restauration impériale au Japon**, par le vice-amiral LAYRLE. 18mo, 3s. 6d.

**Joseph de Maistre et sa philosophie**, par M. Fr. PAULHAN. 12mo, 2s. 6d.

**Comte Joseph de Maistre et sa famille**, par M. DE LESCURE. 12mo, 4s.

**Monsieur Freppel**, d'après des documents authentiques et inédits, par E. CORNUT. 8vo, 5s.

**West-Grinstead et les Caryll**.—Etude historique et religieuse sur le Comté de Sussex en Angleterre. Par MAX DE TRENQUALEON. 2 vols., 8vo, net 12s.

The first volume relates the history of religion in that part of England in which is now situated the parish of West Grinstead.

After the Norman conquest, the powerful family of Braose, to whom the Howards have succeeded, received nearly all this part of the country in fief. They built castles, churches, and monasteries, the histories of which foundations are full of interest.

The second volume is devoted to the Caryll family. The author shows that, even in the darkest days of religious persecution, Catholic worship was always maintained at West Grinstead.

The genealogy of the Caryll family appears for the first time in this work. Amongst the names which appear are those of Howard, Petre, Morley, and Monteagle, Montagu, Herbert, Molyneux, Mackenzie, Tresham, Tufton, Blount, Gage, Kemp, Snelling, Ford, Bedingfield, Webb, Palmer, Dormer, Eyre, Harrington, Carrington, etc., and through some of these names they have been connected with a royal descent and the Plantagenets.

It is thus seen that the book presents such varied interest as to attract all lovers of our country's history.

The work contains family portraits, and many other interesting illustrations.

**Revue scientifique et industrielle**. Par LOUIS FIGUIER (36<sup>e</sup> année). 18mo, 3s. 6d.

**Œuvres de saint Basile**, commentés d'après la Vulgate et l'Hebreu, par M. l'Abbé L. FILLION. 7s. 6d.

**Commentarii in Evangelia S. Matthæi et S. Joannis** Commentaria. Primus Primus Evangelium secundum Matthæum. Aug. Taur., 1893. 8vo, 4s.

**Œuvres de saint Basile**.—Vie de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ; traduite nouvellement sur le texte latin (par Mme la comtesse de Costa de Beauregard) 2<sup>e</sup> édition, précédée d'une introduction par S. Em. Mgr. le cardinal G. MERMILLOD, évêque de Genève et Lausanne. 2 vol. in-12, 5s.

*All the Newest Works procured with the utmost promptitude.*

## BOOKS OFFERED AT A REDUCTION OF PRICE.

- S. Augustini Opera Omnia**, opera et studio Monachorum, O.S.B. Secunda editio Veneta. Venetiis, 1726. 18 vols., 4to, vellum. Fine set, £6 6s.
- S. Bernardi Opera Omnia**, cum ejus Vita et miraculis. Post Horstium denuo recognita tertiis curis D. Jo. Mabillon, Paris, 1719. Two vols., folio, calf, £1 10s.
- S. Cypriani Opera**. Editio Benedictina; Paris, 1726. Folio, calf, gilt, £2.
- S. Francisci Assisiatis, necnon S. Antonii Paduani Opera Omnia**; postillis illustrata expositione mystica in s. scripturam et in eandem concordia morali locupletata opera et labore Jo. De La Haye. Pedeponti, 1739. Folio, calf, £1 4s.
- Henrion**. Histoire des Ordres Religieux. Illustrated, with Plates of Habits of the various Orders. Bruxelles, 1838. 8vo, half bound, 4s. 6d.
- Morinus** (Jo. Cong. Oratorii N. D. J. C. Presb.). Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione Sac. Pœnitentiæ observata. Antverpiæ, 1682. Folio, calf, £1 4s.
- Thomæ a Kempis Opera Omnia**. Ed., H. Somnalius é Soc. Jesu. Antverpiæ, 1601. Three vols. in one, sm. 8vo, vellum, 10s. 6d.
- Ribadeneira (Peter)**. Lives of the Saints, with other Feasts of the Year according to the Roman Calendar. Written in Spanish and translated into English by W. P., Esq. Printed in the year 1730. Folio, calf, £1 4s.
- Vie de la Très-Sainte Vierge Marie**, par Mgr. EMIDIO GENTILUCCI. Traduit en français par M. l'Abbé CÉLESTE ALIX. Paris, 1854. Many beautiful engravings. 4to, half bound morocco, £1 1s.
- Marchantius (Jac.)**. Hortus Pastorum in quo continetur omnis doctrina fidei et morum ad Conciones, Catechismum Controversias et Casus Conscientiæ, omnibus Antimarum Curatoribus necessaria. Patavii, 1715. Folio, vellum, 8s. 6d.
- Azevedo**. Exercitationes Liturgicæ De Divino officio exercitationum decades decem. Romæ, 1750. 4to, vellum, 9s.
- Suarez (Franc., S.J.)**. Tractatus de Religione Societatis Jesu. Bruxelles, 1858. Folio, cloth extra, 12s. 6d.
- Corsetti (B.)**. Praxis Sacrorum Rituum ac Cæremoniæ. Venetiis, 1666. 16mo, vellum, 4s.
- Durandi (Guil.)**. Rationale Divinorum officiorum. Lugduni, 1568, sm. 8vo vellum, 10s. 6d.
- Duranti (J. S.)**. De Ritibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, libri tres. Coloniae, 1593. sm. 8vo, vellum, 7s.
- Les Vies des Pères des Déserts d'Orient**, leur doctrine spirituelle et leur discipline monastique. Nouvelle édition d'après le R. P. M. A. MARIN; avec des notes par VÉUILLOT. With sixty beautiful engravings par CERONI. Paris, 1863. 6 vols., 8vo half bound vellum, £2 15s.
- Gardellini**. Decreta Authentica Cong. Sacrorum Rituum. EDITIO TERTIA novis locupletata decretis usque ad annum 1877. 5 vols., 4to, cloth extra, £3.
- \* \* This work is quite out of print. Early application should be made, as only a few copies remain for sale.
- Cornelii a Lapide Commentaria in S. Scripturam**. De Pineda in Jobum et Le Blanc in Psalmos. Neapoli, 1854, etc. 14 vols., 4to, half bound, £8 10s.

BURNS &amp; OATES, LD.,

28 ORCHARD STREET, LONDON, W.

# THE TABLET

*A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER AND  
REVIEW.*

---

Special Treatment of the Roman Question,  
the Education Question, and of  
the Anglican Movement.

---

The **TABLET** circulates widely, not only among educated  
English-speaking Catholics in all parts of the world, but in the  
Hon Clubs and Public Libraries, and among Anglicans and  
Protestants who desire information as to the course of Catholic  
thought and policy.

---

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent to **JAMES  
GOVAN**, "Tablet" Office, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden,  
Hon.

---

*Yearly Subscription, post free, 24s.*

"Messrs. Bell are determined to do more than maintain the reputation of 'Bohn's Libraries.'"—GUARDIAN.

"The imprint of Bohn's Standard Library is a guarantee of good editing."—CRITIC (N. Y.).

"Let me say, in passing, that you can hardly make a mistake in purchasing from Bohn's Libraries, issued by Messrs. Bell. They consist of really standard books at very low prices, well bound, well printed, well edited, and a lasting satisfaction to the possessor."—DR. NICOLZ, in THE BRITISH WEEKLY.

# BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

747 Volumes at 3s. 6d. or 5s. each, with a few exceptions.

## THE FOLLOWING IS A SELECTED LIST OF STANDARD WORKS:

- Addison's Works. 6 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Antoninus, The Thoughts of M. Aurelius. (Long's Translation.) 3s. 6d.  
 Bacon's Essays and Historical Works. 3s. 6d.  
 Bacon's Novum Organum, &c. 5s.  
 Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. 5s.  
 Björnson's Arne and the Fisher Lassie. Translated by W. H. Low, M.A. 3s. 6d.  
 Boswell's Life of Johnson and Tour in the Hebrides, &c. (NAPIER.) 6 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Burke's Works and Life. 9 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Burney's Evelina and Cecilia. Edited by Mrs. ELLIS. 3 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Cervantes' Don Quixote. 2 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Chaucer's Works. (Prof. Skeat.) 4 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Coleridge's Works. Edited by T. ASHE. 6 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Cooper's Biographical Dictionary. 2 vols., 10s.  
 Defoe's Works. 7 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe. 2 vols., each 5s.  
 Dunlop's History of Prose Fiction. Revised by HENRY WILSON. 2 vols., each 5s.  
 Eber's Egyptian Princess. Translated by E. S. BUCHHEIM. 3s. 6d.  
 Emerson's Works. 3 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Epictetus. The Discourses, with the Encheiridion and Fragments. (Long's Translation.) 5s.  
 Evelyn's Diary. With 45 Engravings. 4 vols., each 5s.  
 Fielding's Tom Jones. Illustrated by CRUIKSHANK. 2 vols., 7s.  
 Fielding's Joseph Andrews. Illustrated by CRUIKSHANK. 3s. 6d.  
 Fielding's Amelia. Illustrated by CRUIKSHANK. 5s.  
 Games, Handbooks of. Vol. I. Table Games, 3s. 6d. Vol. II. Card Games, 3s. 6d.  
 Gibbon's Roman Empire. 7 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Gil Blas. Illustrated by SMIRKE and CRUIKSHANK. 6s.  
 Goethe's Works. 14 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Goethe's Faust. Part I. The German Text, with Hayward's Translation, Revised by Dr. C. A. BUCHHEIM. 5s.  
 Goldsmith's Works. 5 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Grimm's Tales. With Introduction by ANDREW LANG. 2 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Guizot's History of Civilisation. 3 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Hawthorne's Works. 3 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Hazlitt's Essays. 7 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Heaton's Concise History of Painting. Edited by CORMO MONKHOUSE. 5s.  
 Henderson's Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages. 5s.  
 Hooper's Waterloo. New Edition. With Map and Plans. 3s. 6d.  
 Irving's Works. 17 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Johnson's Lives of the Poets. Edited by Mrs. NAPIER. 3 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Josephus, the Works of. New Translation by the Rev. A. R. SHILLER, M.A. With Notes by Sir C. W. WILSON, K.C.B. 5 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Lamartine's History of the Girondists. 3 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Lamb's Works and Letters. 4 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Lessing's Laokoon, &c. (BEASLEY'S Translation.) 3s. 6d.  
 Lessing's Dramatic Works. 2 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual. 8 vols., each 5s.  
 Manzoni's Betrothed. ('I Promessi Sposi.') 5s.  
 Marryat's (Captain) Novels and Tales. 8 vols., each 3s. 6d. Illustrated.  
 Michelet's History of the French Revolution. 3s. 6d.  
 Mignet's History of the French Revolution. 3s. 6d.  
 Milton's Poetical and Prose Works. 7 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Molière's Dramatic Works. 3 vols. Translated by C. H. WALL. Each 3s. 6d.  
 Montagu: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters. W. MOY THOMAS'S Edition, Revised. 2 vols., each 5s.  
 North's Lives of the Norths. Edited by the Rev. A. JESSOP, D.D. 3 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Plutarch's Lives. (Translated by STEWART and LONG.) 4 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Pope's Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. With all FLAXMAN'S Illustrations. 2 vols., each 5s.  
 Pope's Poetical Works. Edited by CAREW THOMES. 2 vols. Illustrated. Each 5s.  
 Prout's (Father) Reliques. With Etchings by MACLISE. 5s.  
 Racine's Dramatic Works. Translated by R. B. BOSWELL. 2 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Ricardo on the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. By Professor GONNER. 5s.  
 Schiller's Works. 7 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Smith (Adam) On the Wealth of Nations. Edited by E. BELFORD BAX. 2 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Spinoza's Chief Works. Edited by R. H. M. ELWES. 2 vols., each 5s.  
 Staunton's Works on Chess. 4 vols., each 5s.  
 Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, 6 vols.; Mary Queen of Scots, 2 vols.; and Tudor and Stuart Princesses, 1 vol. Each 5s.  
 Vasari's Lives of the Painters. (With Appendix by Dr. RICHTER.) 6 vols., each 3s. 6d.  
 Young's (Arthur) Travels in France. Edited by M. BETHAM EDWARDS. 3s. 6d.  
 Young's (Arthur) Tour in Ireland. Edited by A. W. HUTTON. 2 vols., 3s. 6d.-each.

FULL CATALOGUES POST FREE.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO., LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

## INDEX.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1893.

- ALCOHOL, How to deal with, 660.  
l'Allemagne et la Réforme, vol. iii., *noticed*, 947.  
Amherst, Rev. W., 515, 858.  
Ang-Kor, Ancient Remains of, 930.  
Anglican Orders, Rome's Tribute to, 766.  
Anselme, l'Argument de St., *noticed*, 979.  
Apologetics, or Christianity Defensively Stated, *noticed*, 702, 940.  
Apology, A Christian, *noticed*, 703.  
Apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis, Das, *noticed*, 967.  
Archbold, W. A. J., 721.  
Argument de St. Anselme, l', *noticed*, 979.  
Artificial Clouds, 654.  
Australia, New Route to, 672.  
BACON, François, *noticed*, 718.  
Baeumer, P. Guibert, 967.  
Barine, A., 719.  
Basile, Giambattista, 961.  
Bernardin de S. Pierre, *noticed*, 719.  
Bible, Dictionnaire de la, *noticed*, 696.  
Biographies by Mrs. Hope, *noticed*, 944.  
Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries, *noticed*, 942  
Branchereau, L., Méditations, 946.  
Braunsberger, Otto, 683.  
Breen, Rev. J. D., 766.  
Breviarium Romanum, *noticed*, 950.  
Brownson, H. F., 686.  
Brownson, Literary, Scientific, and Political Views of, *noticed*, 686.  
Bruce, Professor, 702, 940.  
Busson, l'Abbé, 976.  
Butler, Dom Cuthbert, 497, 836.  
Byrne, Rev. W., 975.  
CABRINI, Rev. Fr., 970.  
Cabrol, R. P. Fernand, 756.  
Caddell, Cecilia Mary, 966.  
Cambridge, Historical Essays, *noticed*, 721.

- Carmina Mariana, *noticed*, 688.  
 Catherine II. of Russia, 733.  
 Catholic Doctrine of Faith and Morals, *noticed*, 975.  
 Cellier, l'Abbé H., 981.  
 Century Dictionary, *noticed*, 943.  
 Ceremonies of Ordination, *noticed*, 975.  
 Chambrun, La Comtesse de, *noticed*, 986.  
 Champney, A. C., 693.  
 Chaptal, le Comte, 699.  
 Charles Borromeo, Life of St., *noticed*, 985.  
 Charles, R. H., 977.  
 Child, Countess, *noticed*, 756.  
 Christian Social Union, 659.  
 Chronology of Books of Esdras and Nehemias, 936.  
 Clouds, Artificial, 654.  
 Comte, Auguste, *noticed*, 721.  
 Congo, Exploration of, 671.  
 Convict Population, 669.  
 Cornoldi, Fr. G. M., 982.  
 Craik, H., 730.  
 Crosses, Early English, 549.  
 Crucistationes, 732.  
 Curtis, Life of Father John, *noticed*, 950.

DANKÓ, Jos., 681.

- Dead Return? Do the, *noticed*, 735.  
 Defender of the Faith, *noticed*, 737.  
 Dictionary, Catholic, *noticed*, 714.  
 Dominic, Life of St., *noticed*, 985.  
 Driver, Dr., 724.  
 Dry Period, The Recent Abnormal, 921.  
 Duration of Electric Spark, 915.  
 Dybowski, Jean, 963.

EASTERN Solitaries and Holy Communion, 938.

Economics, Weak Point of Church of England, 661.

Edmund of Canterbury, Life of St., *noticed*, 983.

Egypt, Exploration in, 674.

Electric Railways, 917.

Elizabeth's Intrigues, Queen, 599.

Enchiridion ad Sacrarum Disciplinarum Cultores Accomodatum,  
*noticed*, 735.

English, History of, *noticed*, 693.

Enigma, The Great, *noticed*, 715.

Enoch, The Book of, by R. H. Charles, *noticed*, 977.

Eskimos of Greenland, 677.

Esprit Humain, P. C. Greppo, *noticed*, 987.

Ethics, Evolution and, 589.

Ethics, Principles of, by Herbert Spencer, *noticed*, 970.

Etienne X., Histoire du Pape, *noticed*, 720.

Etudes Religieuses, 677.  
 Eucharistic Congress at Jerusalem, 874.  
 Euringer, Sebastian, 952.  
 Evolution and Ethics, 589.  
 Explanation of Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass. Rev. E. B. Glover, *noticed*, 987.

FELBERMANN, Louis, 731.  
 Fillion, L'Abbé, 948.  
 Finnish Legends, *noticed*, 961.  
 Fire-damp Indicator, 652.  
 Fonsegrive, G. L., 718.  
 Foregleams of Christianity, *noticed*, 690.  
 Fouard, Abbé, 689, 722.

GALLICAN Liturgy, Early, 564.  
 Gasquet, Rev. F. A., 886.  
 Gentleman, A, *noticed*, 736.  
 Geschichte des Alten Testaments, von Dr. E. Schöpfer, *noticed*, 969.  
 Gilgit Road, 927.  
 God's Birds, by John Priestman, *noticed*, 986.  
 Grasilier, Léonce, 960.  
 Greenland, American Exploration of, 665.  
 Gruber, le R. P., 721.  
 Gutberlet, Dr., 964.

HALPIN, Rev. J., 801.  
 Happy Valley, Scenery of, 928.  
 de Harlez, Professor, 741.  
 Herbert, the Lady, 874.  
 Heurck, Dr. Van, 697.  
 Histoire de mon Temps, *noticed*, 958.  
 Histoire du R. P. Clorivière, *noticed*, 960.  
 Historisch-politische Blätter, 676, 934.  
 Holy Family Manual, 732.  
 Honnête avant tout, *noticed*, 961.  
 Hope, Biographies by Mrs., *noticed*, 944.  
 Huguenots, Elizabeth's Intrigues with, 599.  
 Hungary and its People, *noticed*, 731.  
 Hunza-Nagar Confederacy, 927.  
 Hurter, H. S. J., 681.  
 Hydrophone, the, 920.  
 Hymnarium Eccles. Hungariæ, Vetus, *noticed*, 681.

INDEX Rationum et Doctrinarum, *noticed*, 987.  
 Instruction in England during thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Religious, 886.  
 Instructions et Conseils aux Filles Domestiques, *noticed*, 976.  
 Introduction à la Vie Spirituelle, *noticed*, 945.  
 Islam, the Propagation of, 741.

- JANSSEN, Ein Lebensbild, &c., *noticed*, 728.  
 Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, Fünfter Band, *noticed*, 682.  
 Janssens, Jean, 947.  
 Jerusalem, Eucharistic Congress at, 874.
- KASHMIR, Agriculture in, 673.  
 Kashmir, the Land System of, 923.  
 Kashmirian Tibet, 925.  
 Katechismen des Seligen P. Canisius, *noticed*, 683.  
 Katholik, 933.  
 Kingsley as an Economist, Charles, 662.  
 Klein, Rev. Dr., 587.
- LANDRIEUX, L'Adjudant-Général, *noticed*, 960.  
 Langdale, Hon. Charles, 515, 858.  
 Lantern Stereoscope, 917.  
 Lehre von den heiligen Sacramenten, *noticed*, 729.  
 Lightfoot, Bishop, and the Early Roman See, 497.  
 Lilly, W. S., 715.  
 Levins, Rev. T., 942.  
 Lucas, Rev. H., 564, 959.
- MAGIC Mirrors, Japanese, 655.  
 Maglione, Canon, 711.  
 Marie Bonneau de Miramion, *noticed*, 966.  
 Marie, la Vierge, par Mgr. Richard, *noticed*, 974.  
 Marriage Process in the United States, *noticed*, 691.  
 Mary, Saturday Dedicated to, *noticed*, 970.  
 Martin, Eugene, 684.  
 Masenius, Rev. J., 945.  
 Massorah Text des Koheleths, *noticed*, 952.  
 Méditations, par L. Branchereau, *noticed*, 946.  
 Mekong, the, 931.  
 Microscope, the, *noticed*, 697.  
 Mixed Marriage, *noticed*, 736.  
 Monastic and Hermitical Life, 937.  
 Monfat, R. P., 962.  
 Mystère de N. S. Jésus Christ, par le R. P. J. Corne, *noticed*, 986.
- NAPOLÉON et Alexandre I<sup>er</sup>, *noticed*, 726.  
 Napoléon, Mes Souvenirs sur, *noticed*, 699.  
 Ney, le Maréchal, *noticed*, 701.  
 Nomenclator Litterarius recentioris Theologiæ Catholicæ, Tom. II., *noticed*, 681.
- O'LEARY, Rev. P., 975.  
 Oliphant, Mrs. and F. R., 695.  
 Oresteia of Æschylus, *noticed*, 735.
- PANAMA, Précis historique de l'affaire du, *noticed*, 959.  
 Pasquier, Mémoires du Chancelier, 958.

- Pastor, Lud, 682, 728.  
 Paul, St., les Missions, 722.  
 Paul the Hermit and Chronology of Metaphrastes, 936.  
 Peacock, Miss Florence, 549.  
 Peary, Lieut., Expedition, 666.  
 Pentamerone, *noticed*, 961.  
 Peter and the First Years of Christianity, St., *noticed*, 689.  
 Physical System of St. Thomas, the, *noticed*, 982.  
 Pitra, Histoire du Cardinal, *noticed*, 956.  
 Platinum, Consumption and Sources of, 656.  
 Poems, Dramatic and Domestic, by Gascoigne Mackie, *noticed*, 985.  
 Pont-à-Mousson, L'Université de, *noticed*, 684.  
 Primitive Saints and See of Rome, 626.  
 Problème Spiritualiste, le, par l'Abbé H. Cellier, *noticed*, 981.  
 Propagation of Islam, 741.  
 Psaumes Commentés d'après la Vulgate et l'Hébreu, *noticed*, 948.  
  
 RAGEY, R. P., 979.  
 Ramsay, W. H., 687.  
 Raoul de Bérignan, *noticed*, 737.  
 Religious Instruction in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 886.  
 Resuscitation by Oxygen, 651.  
 Review of Social Science, New Italian, 658.  
 Revue des Questions Historiques, 680.  
 Revue du Monde Catholique, 680.  
 Ribet, M. I., 961.  
 Richard, Mgr., 974.  
 Rivind, R., 961.  
 Rivington, Rev. Luke, 626.  
 Roman Empire, the Church and the, *noticed*, 687.  
 Roman See, Bishop Lightfoot and the Early, 836.  
 Rome, Primitive Saints and See of, 626.  
 Rome's Tribute to Anglican Orders, 766.  
 Route du Tchad, La, *noticed*, 963.  
  
 SAGHALIEN, 668.  
 Saturday Dedicated to Mary, *noticed*, 970.  
 Scannell, Rev. T. B., 714.  
 Schanz, Paul, 729.  
 Schöpfer, Dr. E., 969.  
 Scott, Charles Newton, 690.  
 Sermons on Old Testament, *noticed*, 724.  
 Seven Cities of the Dead, by Sir John Croker Barrow, *noticed*, 985.  
 Shipley, Orby, 688.  
 Siam, Great Lake of, 927.  
 Siamese Temples, 932.  
 Silchester, Ancient Church, 733.  
 Smith, Rev. S. B., 691.  
 Somerset Religious Houses, *noticed*, 721.

- Soudan, the French, 670.  
Sound and Music, *noticed*, 698.  
Spencer, Herbert, 970.  
Stimmen aus Maria Laach, 935.  
Stone, Miss J. M., 599.  
Swift, Selections from, *noticed*, 730.
- TEMPERANCE and the Social Question, 801.  
Terrien, R. P., 960.  
Tibetan Piety, 926.  
"Tolerari Potest," by Rev. N. Nilles, S.J., *noticed*, 986.  
Tonga et le R. P. Chevron, les, *noticed*, 962.  
Tune Book, Catholic, *noticed*, 734.
- UGANDA, Commercial Future of, 670.  
Université Catholique, L', 677.
- VANDAL, A., 726.  
Vatican and the Kingdom of Italy, *noticed*, 711.  
Vendée, Story of War in La, *noticed*, 737.  
Victorian Age of English Literature, *noticed*, 694.  
Vierge, Marie la, par Mgr. Richard, *noticed*, 974.  
Virgin, in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries, The Blessed, *noticed*, 942.
- WALLACE, D.D., Rev. Wilfrid, 983.  
Wantage and his Work, Lord, 659.  
Welschinger, Henry, 701.  
Willensfreiheit und ihre Gegner, Die, *noticed*, 964.  
Words of Wisdom from the Scriptures, *noticed*, 949.
- ZAHN, Rev. J. A., 698.  
Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, 676.

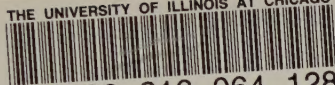








THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO



3 8198 316 064 128



